The University of Chicago

THE FOREIGNER IN HELLENISTIC COMEDY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF LATIN

BY

RAYMOND HUNTINGTON COON

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TO MY FATHER

REUNE RUNYON COON

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PREFACE

In the following discussion I have attempted to treat the character of the foreigner in Hellenistic comedy, with a brief consideration of the same character in Aristophanes and Old Comedy by way of introduction. There are two distinct aspects of the subject, the content of the character, and his function in the technique of the plays.

Citations from Aristophanes are taken from the Oxford Classical Text (Hall and Geldart, 1900); those from Plautus are taken from the Oxford Classical Text (Lindsay, 1903); and those from Terence are from Dziatzko's edition (1884). The fragments of Greek comedy are quoted from Kock *Com. Attic. Frag.*, and those of Latin comedy from Ribbeck *Com. Rom. Frag.* 3d ed.

I desire here to express my obligation to the several instructors in the departments of Greek and Latin in the University of Chicago. My gratitude is especially due to Professor H. W. Prescott, who suggested the subject of this thesis, and who has very generously assisted me at every stage of the work.

RAYMOND H. COON.

William Jewell College,
Liberty, Mo.
August 4, 1920.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The foreigner is a frequent object of satirical attack in ancient and modern comedy. English plays of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries abound in unfavorable characterizations. The French fop, whose vanity alone can be appealed to, appears in Vanbrugh *The Relapse* I ii: "Say nothing to him, . . . speak to his cravat, his feather, his snuff box, and when you are well with them desire him to lend you £1000." *Dryden's Epilog to Sir Fopling* by Etheridge calls the French fop 'God Almighty's fool.' The affectation of the French lady is described in *The Provoked Wife* by the same author II i: "There is not a feature in your face but you have found the way to teach it some affected convulsion; your feet, your hands, your very fingers' ends, are directed never to move without some ridiculous air or other; and your language is a suitable trumpet to draw people's eyes upon the rare-show." In Foote's *Englishman Returned from Paris* the Englishman is ridiculed for talking half French, half English, for employing three French valets to help him make his toilet, etc. Throat-cutting is Italian humor in Behn's *Town Fop* V i. The German language is the object of contempt in Baillie's *Enthusiasm* I iii: "Did he pray in the German tongue?"—Answer, "No, heaven forbid, madam, that he should speak to his creator in such a jargon as that." The longwinded German philosopher and his manner of talking are taken off in Baillie's *The Alienated Manor* I ii, where the German speaks: "O you talk of de vertues cardinalls, de great, de grand, de sublime vertues; dat be de ting, de one only ting . . . Hear you me. De sublime vertue is de grand, de only vertue. I prove you dis. Now we shall say, here is de good-tempered man; he not quarrel, he not fret, he disturb nobody. Very well; let him, let him live de next door to me. But what all dat mean? O dat he is de good-tempered man." The Jew has a keen eye for business and is not over scrupulous, Dibdin *School for Prejudice* IV i; in II i Ephraim says: "I began mit little but I took care of it—'Tis de great secret in ma trade; dere's many of ma tribe keeps a coach, vat was first set a running upon rollers." In Lessing's *Minna*

von Barnhelm the character of Riccaut de la Marliniere is a dismissed French officer, a braggart and a coward. He is a gambler, and to cheat with him is to correct fortune. He represents the foreign adventurer in the Prussian army for the sake of dishonest gain.

Not only the foreigner from another land but the stranger from another part of the same country or from another city provides an object of ridicule or fun for an audience. The Bostonian with his broad *a*, the southerner with his difficulty in pronouncing *r*, the somnolent Philadelphian, and the porcine Chicagoan, are examples.

The word foreigner in this paper is intended to cover not only non-Greeks but all Greeks who were not citizens of Athens. There is a justification for this point of view, which does not exist in the case of modern states, in that the πόλις was the political unit—at least for a part of the period which is covered; and the traditions of the Greeks, especially of the Athenians, would tend to make them regard even Greek outsiders with local prejudice well down into the monarchical period. Unthinking persons of all times and all places have regarded the foreigner with something less than fairmindedness. The Athenians were no exception to this rule, and in fact carried the attitude farther than other countries and other city-states of Greece,[1] owing perhaps to their great superiority to all peoples with whom they came in contact, and their full consciousness of it. Naturally Greek cities arrived at a stronger feeling of their racial unity during the monarchy than during the period of the city-state. Yet nationalism was none too strong, and conservative Athens kept many features of a city-state for a long time. This is indicated in no other way better than by the inferior social, political, and legal status at Athens, even down to late Hellenistic times,[2] of the person who was not an Athenian

[1] There was, of course, a large distinction between their attitude toward a non-Athenian Greek and that toward a non-Greek. Wilamowitz *Staat und Gesellschaft* p. 38 says: Der "draussen," ἐχθρός, ist dem Griechen der Feind geworden: der "fremde," ξένος, dagegen der Gast und Gastfreund. Cf. *ibid.* 52.

[2] See Ferguson *Hellenistic Athens* pp. 245, 246, 262. On p. 308 he points out that as late as 205 B.C. foreign residents of Athens could be designated slaves, so inferior was their status to that of foreigners elsewhere. He says that the social and religious changes elsewhere met counter movements in Athens to preserve the old usages of the city-state, its deities and cults. Ethnic organizations were formed, p. 316; there were foreign guilds of ship owners and commission merchants, p. 375; foreigners were permitted to associate in clubs for religious purposes, known as *thiasotae*, pp. 217–19. Not until the second century B.C. was the prejudice to any

citizen. The term alien is employed in the sense 'non-Athenian Greek.' This use is suggested by the meaning of alien in Attic law, in which it is confined to the Greek foreigner. The term barbarian naturally is used only of the non-Greek; and outlander, which occurs infrequently, is also so limited.

Inasmuch as a number of words are applied to the foreigner in Greek and Roman comedy it will be necessary to determine the meanings and uses of each. Βάρβαρος is a word of much interest outside of comedy as well as within it.[3] No Greek writer employs it more often or with more varied significations than Euripides.[4] They are largely unfavorable and show Euripides' innate contempt for barbarians. Aristophanes uses the word at times in its original sense of language unintelligible to the Greeks, as in *Birds* 199; he uses it likewise of people born in a foreign land, as in *Birds* 1700; of vulgar manners, and of lack of intelligence.[5] It is used in the sense of brutal in Menander's *Epitrepontes* 477. Βάρβαρος is used in the fragments with about the same range of meanings.[6] In Eubulus 109 it refers to language, in Pherecrates 68 and anonymous 1427, 28 it is applied to non-Greeks. In anonymous 634 the feeling of Greek superiority is strong: ἐγώ σε προσκυνήσω, βάρβαρε.

The word ἐκτόπιος is not found in extant comedy. It occurs in relation to comedy in Athenaeus 659a and is applied to the cook 'from outside' in contrast with πολιτικός, which is used of the native cook.

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large extent overcome, when citizenship was conferred and inter-marriage followed, p. 423. On the legal position of the alien at Athens see Gilbert *Constitutional Antiquities* pp. 176 ff. On clubs of foreigners at Athens see Poland *Vereinswesen* pp. 303 ff., index *s.v.* Fremde. For the general condition of foreigners of all kinds at Athens see Zimmern *The Greek Commonwealth* 2nd ed. p. 370 n. and pp. 378 ff.; Francotte *De la Condition des Étrangers dans les Cités grecques*.

[3] A dissertation *βάρβαρος quid significaverit* by A. Eichhorn discusses the use of the word in Gk. literature from Homer to Demosthenes. In the summary of the results of his study pp. 60–64 he gives an excellent *résumé* of the original and acquired meanings of barbaros. Freeman *History of Sicily* I pp. 306, 307 discusses the meaning of the word 'barbarian' to the Greeks. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa *Realenc. s.v. barbaroi*; Dar. et. Sag. *Dict. des Ant. s.v. barbari*.

[4] Eichhorn *op. cit.* pp. 30–38 discusses Eurip. at length.

[5] See Eichhorn's treatment of Aristoph. *op. cit.* pp. 38–40.

[6] All the instances of the use of the word in the collection of Meineke *Frag. Com. Graec.* are given in the lexicon of Jacoby *s. v. βάρβαρος*

Eustathius 1751, 53 ff. uses the word in the same connection. He is, however, without doubt merely following Athenaeus.[7]

ξένος is varied in its meanings. Its original sense of guest-friend (or host) is rather frequent.[8] More often it has the sense of stranger (either neutral or slightly friendly, usually with some condescension), especially in Aristophanes.[9] It occurs occasionally with the meaning allies,[10] with the meaning mercenaries,[11] and once in the sense of a resident alien.[12] Finally ξένος with the meaning of foreigner in a more or less unfavorable sense is common in Aristophanes and the fragments.[13] The repeated statements of scholiasts and other critics that a certain man is satirized as a ξένος in a certain comic passage show how general the use of the word in that sense must have been.

The word *barbarus* (and its derivatives) is used in Plautus[14] from the Greek point of view and signifies Roman or Italian. This is not strange in view of the fact that Roman comedy is an adaptation of Greek.[15] The word appears occasionally in the fragments of Roman comedy in the sense of rude or unschooled.[16]

The word *hospes* in Roman comedy overlaps to a considerable extent the Greek ξένος. It is used for guest-friend (or host),[17] for stranger in no disparaging sense,[18] once merely for a newly-arrived

[7] The word ἔκτοπος occurs in Aristoph. *Birds* 1474 in the sense of outlandish.

[8] Instances are found in *Wasps* 1197; *Frogs* 109, 147; Alexis 145.

[9] *Ach.* 867, 884, 892, 930; *Thesm.* 882, 892; *Birds* 97, 409, 666; *Wasps* 1221; *Lys.* 580; etc.

[10] *Ach.* 326, 505; *Knights* 1408; *Birds* 1431, 1454, 1458.

[11] *Plut.* 173; Menander *Periceiromene* 171, 280.

[12] *Knights* 347.

[13] *Birds* 1652; *Peace* 297, 644; *Frogs* 458, 730; *Lys.* 1058; *Knights* 1198; *Ach.* 503. In *Wasps* 718 ξενία is the charge brought against one as a foreigner. See also among the fragments Menander 439; Eriphus 6; Eupolis 71.

[14] It does not occur in Terence.

[15] Cf. Lorenz *Miles Gloriosus, Einleitung* pp. 65, 66. The word occurs in Plaut. in the following places: *Asin.* 11; *Trin.* 19; *Capt.* 492, 884; *Most.* 828; *Bacch.* 121, 123; *Miles* 211; *Stichus* 193; *Curc.* 150; *Rud.* 583; *Cas.* 748; *Faeneratrix.*

[16] Caecilius Statius *Harpazomene* 59, 60; Incert. 250.

[17] Plaut. *Miles* 635, 738; *Most.* 479; *Poen.* 120, 1050; *Rud.* 49; *Bacch.* 231, 275, 686; *Merc.* 102; etc. Terence *Ad.* 529; *Ph.* 67; *Hec.* 432, 801.

[18] Plaut. *Asin.* 361, 431; *Persa* 527; *Poen.* 685; *Epid.* 662; Terence *Andr.* 810, 817; *Eun.* 119; *Hec.* 195.

member of the family,[19] and at least once for a foreigner as opposed to a citizen.[20]

Peregrinus is more consistent in its meaning. It covers some of the ground of *ξένος*, being regularly used in the sense of foreigner.[21] The *praetor peregrinus* handled cases between citizens and foreigners. *ξένος*, *hospes*, *peregrinus*, do not necessarily imply distance or different nationality as do *βάρβαρος* and *barbarus*. Another Greek city, however near, fills the requirement. Thus *βάρβαρος* (and *barbarus* viewed from the Greek standpoint) stands for the non-Greek outlander, while *ξένος*, *hospes*, *peregrinus*, apply to outlander or to Greek alien.

At this point it is in order to say a few words on the political background of comedy in the various periods. With the political changes in the history of Athens, due to a large extent to her relations with various foreign powers, there came changes in her attitude both toward the foreigner as such and toward the various foreign nationalities. The period of the Persian wars was one of large awakening to the outside world. Besides giving Athens a fuller acquaintance with the people of Persia it brought her into closer touch with the peoples north of Greece—Macedonia and Thrace. Athens was in alliance with Thrace for many years preceding and during the Peloponnesian war. The long war between the Greek states decidedly influenced her feelings toward various cities of the Greek world.[22] Finally the Macedonian conquest introduced an altogether new political regime, which would be bound to have its effect. Comedy, as a realistic type, may reflect, in its different stages, the changing attitude toward both the non-Greek barbarian and the Greek alien. In the Old Comedy of Aristophanes and his contemporaries the broad episodic treatment of foreigners is made possible through the incoherent character of the literary type; while New Comedy, with its closely organized plot of intrigue, does not afford scope for such broad treatment except in

[19] Ter. *Ph.* 605.

[20] Ter. *Ph.* 328.

[21] Plaut. *Men.* 340, 634; *Pseud.* 964, 1261; *Stichus* 669; *Merc.* 635; *Persa* 136, 157, 158; *Bacch.* 1009; *Cist.* 143; *Poen.* 656, 675; *Trin.* 767; Terence *Eun.* 759.

[22] The reproach of foreign birth is so common a thing in the orators that it becomes a rhetorical *τόπος*. Phormio is a barbarian and perpetrates barbarisms in speech. The father of Euxitheos is reviled because he talks like a foreigner. Demosthenes' mother is a Scythian, while Demosthenes himself talks Greek like a barbarian. The exact references are given by Süss *Ethos* p. 248. Cf. also p. 255.

rare instances. In the latter the employment of foreigners is due largely to the needs of the plot.

There is some evidence of a distinction between the foreigner and the native in the earliest Greek comedy. The following statement occurs in Athenaeus 659a: *ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν μὲν πολιτικὸν μάγειρον μαίσωνα, τὸν δ' ἐκτόπιον τέττιγα.* Though *παλαιοί* is not specific it refers, in all probability, to early Doric comedy, since these characters are not mentioned by name in Old Comedy at Athens.[23] Furthermore, Athenaeus says in the same passage, on the strong authority of Aristophanes of Byzantium: *Μαίσων γέγονεν κωμῳδίας ὑποκριτὴς Μεγαρεὺς τὸ γένος, ὃς καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον εὗρε τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον Μαίσων.* This would establish the fact that the mask *μαίσων* belonged to Megarian and hence to Dorian comedy. The passages in Eustathius 1751, 53 ff., and in Hesychius *s.v.* *Μαίσων*, *Τέττιξ*, are understood by Rankin, *The Rôle of the Μάγειροι*, p. 14, clearly to have been based upon the statement of Athenaeus. In the case of Eustathius it is better assured, since he uses the same two pairs of words *πολιτικὸν μάγειρον* and *ἐκτόπιον μάγειρον*, and at the same time quotes Chrysippus. Hesychius' explanation of *Μαίσων* might well be derived from Athenaeus; but if he derived his information on *Τέττιξ* from Athenaeus he either failed to read the latter correctly or the text is corrupt. For Hesychius represents the native *μαίσωνες* as the main cooks, while the foreign *τέττιγες* are the assistant cooks.[24]

As evidence for Hellenistic comedy there is a passage in Pollux *Onomasticon* 148-50 which contrasts *Μαίσων* and *Τέττιξ* as the native

[23] As Rankin points out in *The Rôle of the Μάγειροι in Ancient Greece* p. 16.

[24] The difficulty is met by Schneidewin *Coniectanea Critica* p. 122 by emending *μαγείρων* to *μαγειρείων*. The meaning of the passage in Hesych. then would be: *τέττιξ* was the term applied to foreign kitchen servants, while the natives were called *μαίσωνες*. Cf. Hesych. *s.v.* *Μούσωνες· οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῶν μαγείρων καὶ οἱ τεχνῖται.* Schneidewin *Coniect. Crit.* p. 122 emends *Μούσωνες* to *Μαίσωνες*. He does not, however, eliminate the difficulty in *κορυφαῖοι*. The passage in Festus *s.v.* *Maeson*, which represents Maeson as a mask worn by the sailor and other such rôles, in addition to that of the cook, is probably corrupt, for neither Athen. nor Pollux *Onom.* 148–50 makes mention of other rôles, and they are both using the work of Aristoph. of Byz., as Festus apparently does. Ribbeck, however, *Alazon* p. 26, accepts the passage in Festus; and Robert *Die Masken der neueren attisch. Kom.* p. 72 n. 3 quotes Festus without calling him into question.

and the foreign cook respectively. Pollux is writing of the masks of New Comedy.[25]

It is impossible to determine whether the distinction between Maison and Tettix is original.[26] The evidence on the early distinction between native and foreign types, found in the reference to the *ξενικὸς ἰατρός* in Athenaeus 621 d, points in that direction.[27] The Spartan *δικηλιστής*, according to this passage, mimicked the foreign physician.

The significance of the name *Μαίσων* has already been given above (n. 26). How *τέττιξ* came to be applied to the foreign cook is a matter which still requires solution. Dieterich[28] follows Hesychius, who makes the native Maison the chief cook, attended by foreign tettiges, the assistant cooks, who, true to their name, jump here and there on the stage to please the audience. But assistant cooks are nowhere else mentioned by those who refer to Maison and Tettix. Neither the passage in Athenaeus nor that in Pollux hints at such a distinction. Rankin[29] regards it as probable that the word was applied to a foreign cook by the Megarians in ridicule of the early Athenian custom of wearing representations of grasshoppers in some form of ornaments.[30] This explanation, while possible, does not appear to me to be highly probable. Another possibility, perhaps equally improbable, might be suggested: the word became proverbial for garrulity. The term

[25] Robert *Die Masken der neueren attisch. Kom.* p. 60 and notes 1 and 2 shows that Aristophanes of Byzantium in his work *περὶ προσώπων* was almost certainly the source of Pollux's work, a fact which gives assurance that Pollux is writing of New Comedy.

[26] Dieterich *Pulcinella* pp. 38, 39 apparently accepts the explanation of Chrysippus quoted by Athen., that the word originally signified a glutton (from *μασᾶσθαι*), and only later developed the significance of cook. Regarding the early distinction he says: Ihm (Maison) nahe stehend muss der Tettix (*τέττιξ*) gedacht werden, wenn auch die Unterscheidung als des fremden gegenüber dem Maison als dem heimischen Diener nicht gerade etwas Ursprüngliches sein wird.

[27] Nauck *Aristoph. Byz. Fragmenta* p. 276 makes the very plausible conjecture (which to him approaches certainty) that Aristoph. discussed *τέττιξ* in close connection with *Μαίσων*. Unfortunately our authorities have not transmitted the explanation, if indeed he gave one.

[28] *Pulcinella* p. 39.

[29] *The Rôle of the* Μάγειροι pp. 15–17.

[30] Cf. Thuc. I 6. Aristoph. *Knights* 1331 calls the Demos *τεττιγοφόρας*. Cf. Suidas *s.v. τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα*.

may have been applied contemptuously to the foreign cook because he was thought of as especially garrulous.[31]

One more observation may be made before leaving this problem. The antithesis between the terms πολιτικός and ἐκτόπιος, which is found in the passage of Athenaeus, and in Eustathius presumably derived from Athenaeus, justifies the inference that the foreign cook was as much a Greek alien as a non-Greek barbarian. For the word πολιτικός would be applicable only to a resident of an individual Greek city and ἐκτόπιος would apply to anybody outside of that.[32]

It has been seen above that Pollux affords evidence of the differentiation between a foreign and a native type in the period of New Comedy. It may be well to discuss in this connection the theory that has come down to us under the name of Tzetzes and in the scholia on Dionysius Thrax, to the effect that Old Comedy was interested in attacks on citizens in high places, but that New Comedy was forced to refrain from such attacks and to confine itself to slaves, beggars, foreigners, and barbarians.[33] To determine the authenticity of this material on literary theory has been the object of a thoroughgoing study on the part of Kaibel, entitled *Die Prolegomena περὶ κωμῳδίας*.[34] His critics all attest his success in having cleared up, so far as it was soluble, the question of the sources of these literary notices.[35] Kaibel estimates them at a very low value.[36] It is entirely

[31] Robert, however, *op. cit.* pp. 72, 73 regards this as undoubtedly the correct interpretation. His arguments are not convincing. It may be the cook as such that is garrulous and a braggart, rather than the foreign as contrasted with the native cook.

[32] Unfortunately Zielinski's *Quaestiones Comicae*, in which there is a discussion of Maeson, has not been available.

[33] This ancient literary criticism referring to comedy has been edited, along with other material of the same nature, by Kaibel *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* vol. I part I. For the theory that foreigners were attacked in New Comedy see pp. 13, lines 30–32; 15, lines 68, 69, where the statements from the scholia on Dionysius Thrax are found; and pp. 21, lines 47, 48; 27, lines 90, 91; 28, lines 120–22; 37, line 86, which give the statements of Tzetzes.

[34] *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (1898).

[35] Thiele in *Litterarisches Centralblatt* for the year 1898 p. 1898 says: Kaibel's Abhandlung ist von fundamentaler Bedeutung für die Geschichte der antiken Poetik; sie befreit uns von Tzetzes und den Anonymi und ebnet den Weg der Forschung bis an die Ränder des grossen Spaltes, der zwischen Aristoteles und den Zeitgenossen des Dionysios von Halikarnass (des älteren) auf diesem Gebiete klasst.

[36] *Prolegomena* p. 3: Männer wie Platonios, Andronikos oder Tzetzes, sind für uns entweder keine Persönlichkeiten oder doch keine Autoritäten; pp. 4, 5:

true that Old Comedy attacked citizens of wealth and prominence. And there is evidence to show that the men traduced objected to the attacks.[37] As a result, on occasions during the fifth century and especially toward the end of Old Comedy, attacks upon citizens are checked. The statement in various Greek documents (cf. n. 33) that in New Comedy slaves and foreigners were substituted, as objects of attack, for the prominent citizens in Old Comedy,[38] arises, according to Kaibel, simply from the desire on the part of some early theorist to express a sharp rhetorical antithesis. But it should be observed that, though Kaibel's explanation is plausible, it is at least not likely that this theory would have found expression and gained currency unless foreigners had been at times exposed to ridicule in New Comedy. The theory errs only in the breadth of its generalization. The Latin documents that repeat the same general theory of comedy correctly describe New Comedy as a comedy of manners, without alluding to slaves and foreigners as predominantly or exclusively objects of ridicule. For our purposes the Greek documents are of value only as they state a theory, erroneous in its details, which rests on a basis of fact, viz., that sometimes at least foreigners were exposed to ridicule. This safe inference is confirmed by the fragments of Greek comedy and the Roman copies.

With reference to the *fabula Atellana* in Roman comedy Mommsen—perhaps influenced by the vague literary tradition that later comedy attacked foreigners—advanced the bold theory[39] that it belonged not to Campanian but to Latin art; that it was not even

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In den Scholien hatte Tzetzes denselben Unsinn gelesen, wie wir ihm heute noch in den Scholien des Diomedes lesen können, mit denen Tzetzes mehrfach bis aufs Wort übereinstimmt; p. 8: die Namen der Dionyscommentatoren . . . sind für uns nur leerer Schall, Compilatoren ohne Persönlichkeit, von Werth nur für den zukünftigen Herausgeber, dem sie die Ordnung der Scholienmassen erleichtern werden.

[37] See Aristoph. *Ach.* 377–82, where Aristoph. tells what he had suffered from Cleon because of the attack he had made in his last year's comedy, and that he had barely escaped being implicated in law suits; *Ach.* 502 ff. Aristoph. learned to be careful, especially in the presence of foreigners. Pseudo-Xen. Ἀθ. πολ II 18 says that it was not permitted to speak ill of the δῆμος, but that it was allowable to traduce an individual citizen. See note on this in Kalinka's edition, and cf. Starkie ed. of *Acharnians* pp. 243 ff.

[38] See Platonius in Kaibel *Com. Graec. Frag.* I p. 3 ll. 7–9 and p. 5, ll. 49, 50.

[39] *History of Rome* IV pp. 231–33.

given originally in the Oscan language; that Atella, a town which had been destroyed during the second Punic war—hence fear of offence was removed—was selected as a local habitation for the fool-world. He asserted that the charm of the plays lay in the drastic portraiture of certain classes—foreign nationalities, e.g., Transalpine Gauls, Syrians, being subjects for comic delineation. The view of F. Marx,[40] however, is more convincing, to the effect that the *fabula Atellana* was of Oscan origin,[41] and was introduced into Rome by the Campanian Oscans; at first it was given in Oscan by Campanian citizens, later in Latin by Roman citizens. Under Novius and Pomponius about 80 B.C. it became a literary type, and first introduced the dialect of the Latin country into literature.[42] Marx says that it has not been determined whether the Oscans originated the *Atellana* independently or got it from Greek settlers of Campania.

Less directly related to our theme and yet of interest for purposes of comparison is the practice of Greek tragedy in its treatment of the foreigner. The tragedians introduce or allude to the foreigner with comparative infrequency, owing to the fact that tragedy derives its material from myth. And such references as occur do not perhaps offer so safe a basis for deduction as those in comedy, which is more realistic. Aeschylus and Sophocles might almost be ignored. Euripides, however, as being much more in touch with life, is more significant, and often reflects the Greek (or more strictly, Athenian) attitude toward foreigners. The following discussion, while by no means exhaustive, may be said to represent fairly in a general way the case of the foreigner in tragedy. Greek aliens are seldom mentioned.

[40] Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyc. s.v. Atellana.*

[41] The plays are called *Osci ludi* in Cic. *ad Fam.* 7, 1; and Tacitus *Ann.* IV 14 uses the term *Oscum ludicrum* to apply to them. Their chief characters are called *Oscae personae* in Diomed., p. 490, l. 20 in Keil's *Grammatici Latini* vol. I.

[42] Most critics have adopted the view of Marx. Nettleship *Lectures and Essays* pp. 64-65 is inclined to that view. Schanz *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* 3rd edition, erster Teil zweiter Hälfte pp. 2-4; Teuffel and Schabe *History of Rom. Lit.* English translation of the fifth German edition by Warr, I pp. 11, 12; Ribbeck *Gesch. der röm. Dichtung* I 208 ff.; Pichon *Histoire de la Lit. lat.* 86; all consider that it was of Oscan origin. Wilamowitz *Hermes* IX 331 gives both views without committing himself. He adds however: "die megarische Kömodie ist die athenische Atellana." The analogy would imply that he favored the view of Oscan origin. Michaut *Sur les Tréteaux latins* pp. 232 ff. goes to considerable length to refute Mommsen's theory.

The Spartans suffer a severe arraignment from Andromache in the *Andromache* 446 ff. They are authors of treacherous counsel, kings among liars, murderers, thirsty for gain, etc. The character of Menelaus in the *Orestes* is fairly true to the above description. *Suppliants* 187, 88 calls Sparta ὠμὴ καὶ πεποίκιλται τρόπους. These passages clearly indicate the Athenian attitude of the period of the Peloponnesian war, and would serve to delight greatly an Athenian audience. In *Heraclidae* 353 ff. the chorus talks of the boasting, cruelty, and treachery of Argos.[43] The actions of Copreus, who says in 134 that he is an Argive, are said in 131 to be those of a βάρβαρος. Orestes in the *Choephoroe* 558 ff. plans to pass himself off in the dress and with the accent of a Phocian. This plan he proceeds to carry out, 649 ff.

Asiatics are more numerous than Greek aliens in tragedy. To be a slave to a Lydian, and that, too, a woman, would be sinking as low as one could sink, Sophocles *Trachiniae* 70, 71. No doubt the effeminacy of Lydia is in the poet's mind when he introduces the god Dionysus as a sorcerer from Lydia, *Bacchae* 234; and as a foreigner in female form who brings new diseases and corrupts the women, 353 ff. See also 482 ff. The proverb πότερα Λυδὸν ἢ Φρύγα in *Alcestis* 675 is a contemptuous thrust at both nationalities, as furnishing the chief varieties of slaves in Athens. The dirgelike character of the Mysian music is alluded to in the *Persians* 1054, and the effeminate Ionian melodies in Aeschylus *Suppliants* 69. The best case of the foreigner in tragedy is that of the Phrygian slave in the *Orestes*.[44] His rôle is conspicuous from 1369 to 1526. In 1483 ff. he admits the great inferiority of the Phrygians to the Hellenes in warlike courage. His chief characteristic is cringing cowardice. This trait, which is so vividly portrayed in lines 1506–26, is often associated with the Phrygians, *Orestes* 1111; *Alcestis* 675; *Rhesus* 814,15. In *Andromache* 192 ff. Andromache admits in effect the inferiority of Phrygia to Sparta. The Phrygian love of luxury is intimated in *Orestes* 1113.

Egyptian men are satirized for effeminacy; they stay at home and do the house-work while the women earn a livelihood, *Oedipus Coloneus* 337 ff. In the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus 234–40 the Danaides are a

[43] Mahaffy *Greek. Class. Lit.* "Dramatic Poets" p. 115 says that this play was intended as a political document against the Argive party in Athens during the Peloponnesian war.

[44] See Decharme *Euripide et l'Esprit de son Théatre* pp. 367 ff.

strange company, un-Greek in garb, uncouth. In 279 ff. they are like Africans from the Nile. The Nile fosters a race different from that of Inachus, 497,98. The herald is reviled as a man reared on the Nile, 875–77.

The nationality of the large majority of foreigners in tragedy is not specified. Βάρβαρος is the term applied to them in most instances. A highly unfavorable signification[45] is usually attached to the word. The contrast between Greek and non-Greek is clearly drawn, and the feeling of scorn for the latter runs throughout tragedy. It is especially prominent in Euripides and shows well in his treatment of Medea. Her own intense hatred and the intense hatred toward her, as well as the extreme injustice done her, would not have been appropriate if she were a Greek.

It must be kept in mind in the discussion which follows that the foreigner is not a clearly defined type such as the professional characters, *miles*, *leno*, *meretrix*, *parasitus*, etc. Each of the latter is possessed of one or more fundamental moral traits, which recur with uniform regularity. The foreigner is likewise distinct from the domestic characters, e.g. *senex*, *adulescens*, *matrona*, *ancilla*. While their qualities are not so rigidly stereotyped, and more elasticity is observable in their treatment than in the case of the professional class, yet the dramatist is limited to a narrow range, once he has selected an individual of one of these types. The *servus* displays a wider variety and is more nearly analogous to the foreigner perhaps than any other character in comedy. He is now a town slave, now a country slave or a foreigner, now a clever slave, now a stupid one, now a loyal follower of his master, now a plotting rascal. The playwright permits himself still greater flexibility in his treatment of the foreigner. There are numerous instances where the *miles*, the *parasitus*, the *meretrix*, the *leno*, the *servus*, the *senex*, and the *adulsecens*, are at the same time foreigners. The foreigners assume even minor rôles, such as the *sycophanta*, the *nutrix*, the *vilicus*.

[45] The following is a partial list of passages: *Androm.* 173 ff., 243, 261, 665, 66; *Orestes* 485; *Iphig. in Taur.* 31, 1174; *Phoenissae* 138; *Medea* 536–38; *Helena* 276; *Iphig. in Aul.* 1401, 74; *Troades*, 991, 92. The last two passages refer to the showy character of barbarian dress. The *Helena* alone uses the word βάρβαρος at least 19 times. Eichhorn *βάρβαρος quid significaverit* pp. 30–38 quotes the uses of βάρβαρος in Euripides and shows its various meanings.

It is the purpose of the following chapters to examine the fragments of Hellenistic comedy and the Roman adaptations, in order to determine the extent and character of allusions to foreigners, and the use made of them by the comic poets of the Hellenistic period. The place of the foreigner in Aristophanes and the fragments of Old Comedy will first be considered, but only to afford a basis for comparison with the later period. We shall try to observe on the one hand how far the foreigner as such is given conventional features, whether of costume, dialect, physical, mental, or moral characteristics, whether the attitude of the comic poets is indifferent, playful, or satirical, and on the other hand what part the foreigner fills in the economy of the dramatic plot. The two points should stand out distinctly: (1) the content of the treatment of foreigners, which is discussed in chapters II to V; (2) the form of the treatment, to which chapter VI is devoted.[46]

[46] A short dissertation by Carl Boettcher entitled "Die Darstellung fremder Nationalitäten im Drama der Griechen" in *Programm des königlichen Realgymnasiums zu Königsberg in Pr.* (1892) has little but the title in common with this dissertation.

CHAPTER II

The Foreigner in Aristophanes and the Fragments of Old Comedy

It has been intimated in Chapter I that political and military causes widely extended Athenian foreign relations during the fifth century B.C. The development of Athens into a leading commercial power of the Eastern Mediterranean during the same period further brought her into touch with various foreign countries and many Greek states. The three great corn-producing regions of the time were Pontus, Sicily, and Egypt; and Athenian vessels established trade routes in the Northeast, to the West, and to the Southeast. The intense commercial rivalry with Corinth, Megara, and other cities of the Greek world, which was a primary cause of the Peloponnesian war, contributed largely to the familiarity of Athens with Greek aliens. The plays of Aristophanes freely reflect these historical relations; and it is to be noted that those countries and states with which Athens had most to do, and which were most profoundly impressed upon her consciousness, are, as a rule, most commonly introduced, whether by way of incidental allusion or through the medium of an active rôle. Boeotia, Megara, and Sparta, which were historically in very close connection with Athens, are represented on the stage by Aristophanes; so also Persia, which to the Greeks stood for the Orient; and the Scythian, who from his police service was a familiar character in Athens. We must discriminate, of course, between the large bulk of purely historical material, which merely reflects contemporary events and conditions, and the material which—sometimes in connection with the preceding, sometimes apart from it—depicts specific local characteristics. In the nature of Old Comedy we do not expect a strictly realistic portrayal of the foreigner. Grotesque exaggeration of qualities known or imagined to exist in the particular country is a common thing.

GREEK STATES

Sparta figures most largely among Greek states. *Lysistrata* 628,29 charges her with bad faith: Λακωνικοῖς, / οἷσι πιστὸν οὐδὲν, εἰ μή περ λύκῳ κεχηνότι. In *Acharnians* 308 the Laconians are people οἷσι οὔτε βωμὸς οὔτε πίστις οὔθ' ὅρκος μένει.[1] In *Peace* 623 they are αἰσχροκερδεῖς.[2] They are inhospitable in *Birds* 1012–14.[3] Their frugality is the object of attack.[4] They are satirized for wearing long beards and long hair,[5] for the rare use of the bath and the wearing of dirty clothes, i.e., playing the part of Socrates,[6] and for the walking stick.[7] The term Anglomaniac has a close ancient analogy in the Aristophanic ἐλακωνομάνουν *Birds* 1281. The comic poets heap frequent ridicule upon those who affect Spartan ways of living.[8] There are numerous allusions which reflect contemporary historical relations between Athens and Sparta.[9]

[1] *Peace* 623 διειρωνόξενοι is a further hit at Spartan treachery. Cf. also *ibid.* 1065–68.

[2] So also in Eurip. *Andromache* 451.

[3] The ξενηλασία of Sparta may be considered from the Spartan point of view also as showing the attitude toward aliens of a Greek state other than Athens. Cf. Thuc. I 144; II 39.

[4] *Birds* 1282 ἐπείνων; Aristoph. fragm. 705; Eupolis fragm. 351 μισῶ Λακωνίζειν—though the sense of Λακωνίζειν is not certain. Kock thinks that perhaps it refers ad epularum simplicitatem, while Meineke inclines to the view that it refers to παιδεραστία, quoting Photius and Suidas, whose explanation of Λακωνίζειν is παιδικοῖς χρῆσθαι. The word occurs in Aristoph. *Thesm.* B. 338. The former interpretation appears preferable.

Lys. 78–83 may be a mild thrust at Spartan devotion to rigorous gymnastic training even for women.

[5] *Lys.* 1072, 73; *Wasps* 476. Cf. anonym. fragm. 796.

[6] *Birds* 1282; *Lys.* 279, 80; *Plutus* 85, which mentions a certain Patrocles who had not washed since he was born. The scholiast says of him that he was a rich Athenian who lived in the Spartan manner for economy.

[7] *Birds* 1283; *Eccl.* 74.

[8] *Wasps* 475, on which see V. Leeuwen's comment; Eupolis 208; Plato 124; Aristoph. 431, 95. Other thrusts at the Spartans are found in *Lys.* 276, 620–22; Theopompus 65; Aristoph. 108; Hermippus 32; *Wasps* 1157–65, *Birds* 813–16 contain word plays.

[9] *Peace* 242–46, 478; *Lys.* 995, 96, 998–1001, 1138–41, 1150–56; *Eccl.* 356; *Ach.* 647, 652; *Knights* 55, 464–66, 468, 69, 743, 1008, 1052, 53; *Clouds* 186, 87.

The *Boetians* are called *συοβοιωτοί*, and a *κρουπεζοφόρον γένος ἀνδρῶν* in Cratinus 310, in ridicule of their boorish propensities.[10] The gourmandizing characteristic is brought out by the epithet *κολλικοφάγος* applied to the Boeotian in *Acharnians* 872. The diminutive in connection with it indicates a patronizing superiority. In Pherecrates 160 the advice is given to avoid Boeotia.[11]

The *Corinthians* are repeatedly assailed with the charge of wantonness in Old Comedy, either explicit or implied.[12]

The *Argives* are accused of being thieves in Aristophanes fragment 57.[13] Their neutrality is the object of attack in *Peace* 475–77, 493.[14]

The *Megarians* are satirized for their vulgar and pointless wit, Eupolis 244: *σκῶμμ' ἀσελγὲς καὶ Μεγαρικὸν καὶ σφόδρα / ψυχρόν*; *Wasps* 57: *γέλωτα Μεγαρόθεν κεκλεμμένον*.[15] The bitter feeling existing between Athens and Megara, chiefly over the Megarian decrees, is repeatedly reflected in Aristophanes.[16]

The *Thessalian* women were magicians, *Clouds* 749 *γυναῖκα φαρμακίδα*.[17] Thessaly is characterized as a land of kidnappers in *Plutus* 521.[18] Its love of high living is the object of the thrust in Crates 19 and Aristophanes 492.[19]

[10] Cf. schol. on Pindar *Olymp.* VI 152: *Βοιωτίαν ὗν: ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἀγροικίαν καὶ τὴν ἀναγωγίαν τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ὗες ἐκαλοῦντο.* There is a play entitled *Ὗς* by Cephisodorus which may have had reference to the Boeotians.

[11] For other satirical allusions see *Lys.* 88, 89; Cratinus 12; Strattis 47. Historical allusions occur *Birds* 188, 89; *Frogs* 1023, 24; *Ach.* 1023; *Peace* 465, 66.

[12] *Plut.* 149–52; *Lys.* 90–92; *Thesm.* 647, 48; Aristoph. 902, 348; Cratinus 273; Eupolis 83, on which see Lobeck *Aglaoph.* pp. 1007 ff. On *Thesm.* 404 *Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ* see the long note of Fritzschius. Other allusions to Corinth, chiefly historical, occur in *Eccl.* 199–201; *Birds* 968, 69; *Clouds* 710; *Plut.* 303, 304.

[13] On which Suidas says: *ἐπὶ τῶν προδήλως πονηρῶν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπὶ κλοπῇ κωμῳδοῦνται.*

[14] On Argos see also Aristoph. 298; *Plut.* 601; *Eccl.* 201.

[15] Cf. *Μεγαρικά τις μαχανά* in the Megarian scene *Ach.* 738. See Starkie's note on *Wasps* 57. On Meg. comedy see Meineke *Hist. Crit.* pp. 18 ff. Other allusions satirizing the Megarians are found in Philonides 5; Callias 23; Strattis 26; Theopompus 2.

[16] *Ach.* 523–39; *Peace* 246–49; 481–83; 500–502.

[17] They are frequently so referred to in literature. Starkie on *Clouds* 749 enumerates the passages.

[18] If the reading *ἀπίστων* in that line is correct, as the scholiast understands it: *διαβάλλοντο οἱ Θετταλοὶ ὡς ἀνδραποδισταὶ καὶ ἄπιστοι*, the Thessalians are also faithless.

[19] See Athenaeus 418 c, d. There is a comic thrust at the Macedonian love of high-living in *Frogs* 85. Other references to Thessaly occur in Eupolis 201; Hermippus 41.

Byzantium is ridiculed for its use of iron money in *Clouds* 249; Plato 96.

Syracuse is notorious for its splendid table, Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν Aristophanes frag. 216.[20] In the same fragment *Sybaris* is given a similar reputation Συβαρίτιδας εὐωχίας. The interpretation of συβαρίζειν in *Peace* 344 is provided by the scholiast: ἀντὶ τοῦ τρυφᾶν, ἀπὸ τῆς Συβαριτικῆς τρυφῆς.[21]

The *Ionians* are branded as luxurious and effeminate, Callias 5: τρυφερὰ καὶ καλλιτράπεζος Ἰωνία; *Ecclesiazusae* 918, 19: τὸν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας / τρόπον τάλαινα κνησιᾷς;[22] and as fond of sensual melodies.[23]

The *Lesbians*, particularly the women, were charged with wantonness and unnatural vice.[24]

The *Carystians* are ironically described in *Lysistrata* 1057–59 as ἄνδρας καλούς τε κἀγαθούς.[25]

[20] See Athen. 527 c. For other references to Sicily see *Peace* 250; Archippus 15.

[21] Cf. Phrynichus 64. The Θουριοπέρσαι of Metagenes is thought by Meineke *Hist. Crit.* p. 220 to have branded the people of Thurii—a town situated near the former site of Sybaris—as given to effeminacy and luxury, after the fashion of the Persians. See further on Sybaris *Wasps* 1259, 1427–40.

[22] Cf. *Lys.* 108; Aristoph. 543, with the comment of Athen. 525 a; anonym. 76; Hermippus 58; Eupolis 233; *Peace* 1176 βάμμα Κυζικηνικόν, on which the schol. says: εἰς κιναιδίαν διαβάλλεται ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων διὰ τὴν εὐρύτητα κρατεῖν δύνασθαι. The reference is to Cyzicus. Hesych. *s.v.* βάμμα Κυζικηνικόν says that the Cyzicenes as Ionians were satirized for effeminacy. Under the heading Ionians have been included the towns of Abydus, Miletus, Clazomenae, Cyzicus. Cf. further on Abydus Aristoph. 733.

[23] *Eccl.* 883, 918, 19; *Thesm.* 163. Historical allusions to Miletus occur in *Knights* 361, 932.

[24] *Frogs* 1308, on which see scholiast; Pherecrates 149; Strattis 40, 41; Theopompus 35; *Wasps* 346, on which see scholiast; *Eccl.* 920.

[25] The schol. on *Lys.* 1058 says: διαβάλλονται δὲ ὡς μοιχοὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι; and on 1181 in connection with another reference to the Carystians says: τοὺς Καρυστίους ὡς μοιχοὺς κωμῳδοῦσιν. But that inference is not justified by the allusions in Aristoph.

Other allusions to Gk. states, which are of minor importance or of uncertain significance, occur as follows: Salamis, *Lys.* 58–60, 411; *Eccl.* 38, 39; Crete, Plato 31; *Frogs* 849; *Eccl.* 1165, 66; Melos, *Birds* 186, 1073; Chios and Siphnos, Aristoph. 912; Samos, Aristoph. 64; Seriphos, Cratinus 211; Ceos, Crates 29; Chalcidice, Plato 160; Heraclea, Hermippus 70; Delphi, Aristoph. 684, on which see Athen. 173 d, e.

ORIENTALS

The *Persian* gaudy costume is an object of ridicule in *Acharnians* 62–64: ἄχθομαι . . . τοῖς ταῶσι . . . βαβαιάξ, ὦκβάτανα, τοῦ σχήματος.[26] The Persian bird alone is allowed to wear the turban κυρβασία, *Acharnians* 487.[27] The extravagant wealth and luxurious propensities of the Persians are brought to mind by the reference to Sardanapalus,[28] and by the repeated allusion to Ecbatana,[29] the Eldorado of Aristophanes' time.[30]

The *Egyptians* are made fun of as carriers of burdens in *Birds* 1133,34 and *Frogs* 1406;[31] and for their use of purgatives in *Peace* 1253,54 and *Thesmophoriazusae* 857.[32] The word ἠγυπτιάζετε in the *Thesmophoriazusae* is explained by the scholiast as meaning ἐπανουργεῖτε, the Egyptians being πανοῦργοι.[33]

OTHER BARBARIANS

The *Odomanti*,[34] a tribe of *Thracians*, are severely ridiculed in *Acharnians* 141–73: for drinking, 141; for their absurd appearance, 158, 161; for being corruptible, 159; for thieving, 164; for swaggering, 166. *Lysistrata* 563,64 strengthens the last charge. Cleophon is a butt for Aristophanes because of his Thracian parentage.[35]

[26] See scholia on *Ach.* 63, 64.

[27] Cf. Aristoph. 546.

[28] *Birds* 1021. The schol. says of him that he was very effeminate and that the following words were inscribed on his tomb: ἔσθιε, πῖνε, ὄχευε, ὡς τἄλλα οὐδενός ἐστιν ἄξια.

[29] *Knights* 1089; *Ach.* 64, 613; *Wasps* 1142, 43. Cf. Thuc. I 130.

[30] Other allusions are found in *Frogs* 937, 38; *Birds* 277, 78; *Thesm.* 1175. *Peace* 107, 108 and *Frogs* 1028 are historical allusions.

[31] See schol. on *Birds* 1133 Αἰγύπτιος.

[32] Cf. Hdt. II 77.

[33] Cf. Cratinus 378 αἰγυπτιάζειν; Plato 55 αἰγυπτιώσει. In the latter instance the word must mean 'to make swarthy.' A slur on Egypt is contained in Aristoph. 569 l. 15. Other allusions are found in *Clouds* 1130; Pherecrates 11; *Birds* 504–506. There is an allusion to the Arabian flute player who never stops in Cantharus 1.

[34] They had a bad reputation because of a massacre which they had perpetrated forty years earlier, Thuc. VII 29.

[35] *Frogs* 679–81, 1533, on which passages see the comments of the scholiast. A play of Plato named after Cleophon no doubt satirized him.

The *Scythians* should be thought of somewhat apart for the reason that men of their country were regularly employed as policemen at Athens. Yet their foreign origin must be somewhat in mind when they are ridiculed for staring idly;[36] and for their love of drinking.[37] The Scythians are a nomadic people in *Birds* 941.[38]

The extreme savagery of the *Triballians* is signified in *Birds* 1528,29; 1572,73. Their awkwardness in wearing their clothes is ridiculed in *Birds* 1567–69.

The *Phrygians* were held in low esteem in comedy because of their cowardice and effeminacy.[39]

The *Lydians* were regarded in much the same light.[40] Λυδιστί in Cratinus 256 seems to refer both to the effeminate practice of plucking hairs from the body and to the corrupt music among the Lydians.[41]

The *Carians* are given a contemptuous fling in *Birds* 764: εἰ δὲ δοῦλός ἐστι καὶ Κὰρ ὥσπερ Ἐξηκεστίδης. Execestides is elsewhere satirized as a foreigner.[42] Allusion is made to Carian music in *Frogs* 1302; Plato 69 line 12, which had a funereal character.[43]

[36] *Lys.* 184, 426.

[37] *Lys.* 427. Schol. *ad loc.* says: ὡς μεθύσῳ λέγει.

[38] Cf. Hdt. IV 46; Aesch. *Prom. Bound* 709, 10. On the foreign names of the policeman in *Frogs* 608 the schol. says ὀνόματα τοξοτῶν βαρβάρων. They were probably Scythian names. Another Scythian allusion occurs in *Ach.* 704.

[39] *Birds* 1244, 45, 762, 63; *Wasps* 1309. There is frequent reference to the Phrygian Sabazius, a deity that corresponds to the Greek Dionysus. *Birds* 876; *Lys.* 388; Aristoph. 566.

[40] *Birds* 1244, 45.

[41] Λυδίζων *Knights* 533 is a reference to a play of Magnes entitled Λυδοί. See Phot. *s.v.* Λυδιάζων. Other allusions occur in Aristoph. 492; Aristocrates 1; Plato 170.

[42] *Birds* 11, on which see scholiast; *Birds* 1527, where a barbarian deity is assigned as the ancestral god of Execestides. Acestor is satirized as a Mysian, Theopompus 60. See schol. on *Wasps* 1221 where Acestor is said to be ridiculed as a foreigner. Cf. also Metagenes 13. *Ach.* 439 mentions the πιλίδιον Μύσιον, an Oriental cap appropriate to the Mysian Telephus.

[43] Pollux 4, 75: θρηνῶδες γὰρ τὸ αὔλημα τὸ Καρικόν. So also Phot. *s.v.* Καρικῇ μούσῃ. For another allusion see Crates 16.

The *Cilicians* are satirized for knavishness and cruelty in Pherecrates 166: *ἀεί ποθ' ἡμῖν ἐγκιλικίζουσ' οἱ θεοί*, if we accept ancient interpretation.[44]

The poets of Old Comedy frequently speak of foreigners without regard to their nationality. The prejudice against them in the courts of Athens is often expressed or implied.[45] A feeling of contempt and haughty superiority in varying degrees, toward the unnamed foreigner, whether distant barbarian or nearby islander, is seen repeatedly.[46] Analogous to the philo-Laconian tendencies at Athens was the reception of barbarian deities and the espousal of their worship, to which the comic poets make reference.[47]

The attitude of the comedians toward foreign residents in Athens, or those of foreign birth, who had by some means or other been enrolled on the register of citizens, is bitter, and the allusions to such persons are numerous.[48] They confirm the notion that the Athenians

[44] Quoted by Kock on Pherecrates 166. See further on Cilicia, Aristoph. 105; Plato 86.

In Plato 3 the Cyprians are called *δασύπρωκτοι*. Cratinus 208 is a hit at several tribes, the Sacae (though there is a textual difficulty with reference to that name), the Sidonians, the Erembi, *δούλων, ἀνδρῶν νεοπλουτοπονήρων, αἰσχρῶν, Ἀνδροκλέων, Διονυσοκουρώνων.*

[45] *Knights* 347; *Birds* 1431, 1454–58.

[46] *Wasps* 439; Hyperbolus 166, 67; Cratinus 286; *Ach.* 508; *Birds* 1694–1705; Metagenes 7. Foreign merchants, as it appears, succumb to the snares of courtesans, Metagenes 4, Aristagoras 2.

[47] Aristoph. 878 *τὸν Ἥην* (on which Phot. *s.v.* *Ἥης* says: *Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ συγκαταλέγει ξενικοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Ἥην.* So also *Etym. Mag. s.v.* *Ἥης.* Meineke *Hist. Crit.* p. 267 understands Apollophanes instead of Aristophanes. See also Lobeck *Aglaophamus* 228); Apollophanes 1 (Demianczuk *Supplementum Comicum*); Aristoph. 365. Hesych. *s.v.* *θεοὶ ξενικοί* says: *παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμῶνται οὓς καταλέγει Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Κρησίν.* See Cic. *de Leg.* II 37. Cf. Aristoph. 566, where Sabazius is a Phrygian. Foreign gods are particularized in other passages.

[48] *Wasps* 1221 (see schol.); *Birds* 31, 32 (see schol.); *Lys.* 103 (see schol.); Theopompus 60; *Birds* 11, 764, 1527 (see schol. on each line); Aristoph. 671; Phrynichus 20; *Frogs.* 416, 17, 588; Eupolis 71 (see schol. on *Frogs* 418); Eupolis 80 (see schol. on *Wasps* 687); Eupolis 357 (see Meineke *Hist. Crit.* pp. 111, 12); Cratinus 324 (see Bergk *Reliq. Com. Att.* p. 116); Aristoph. 26 (see Suidas *s.v.* *Φρυνώνδας*); Eupolis 39, 53; Metagenes 10; Polyzelus 5; *Frogs* 790 (Plutarch *Nicias* 2 says that Theramenes was ridiculed as an alien from Ceos); *Ach.* 712 (see Bergk *Reliq. Com. Att.* pp. 97, 98); *Wasps* 718; *Birds* 1652. The figure of the base or counterfeit coin is employed to slander pretended citizens *Frogs* 717–37; *Ach.* 515–22.

were extremely jealous of their privileges as citizens.[49] The deme of the Potamii is ridiculed for the ease with which illegally registered citizens were accepted by it.[50]

In a brief summary of the mental and moral characteristics for which foreigners are ridiculed in Aristophanes we note the bad-faith, frugality, and lack of attention to the bath of the Spartans, the gourmandizing of the Boeotians, the wantonness of the Lesbians and the Corinthians, the vulgar wit of the Megarians, the effeminacy and love of luxury of the Syracusans and of the Ionians, the idle staring of the Scythians, the savagery of the Triballians, the cowardice and general worthlessness of the Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians, etc. All this will prove of interest when, in the next chapter, we come to compare with it the treatment of the foreigner in Hellenistic comedy.

Allusions to costume are rare as compared with allusions to *mores*. A Persian is attired in a gaudy peacock fashion, a Triballian is awkward in wearing his clothes, an Oriental cap (*πιλίδιον Μύσιον*), doubtless taken over from the tragic background of the travesty, belongs to the Mysian Telephus. Such distinctive references to dress serve to enhance the comic effect.

The employment of foreign language and dialect in Aristophanes is sufficiently significant to be discussed in a separate chapter devoted to dialect (see chapter V).

In one regard the handling of the foreigner in Aristophanes differs entirely from that in New Comedy, as seen in the Roman adaptations and to some extent in the fragmentary plays of Menander. Never in Aristophanes does the foreigner play an essential part in the plot. At most he assumes an active rôle for a single episode, as the Megarian or the Boeotian in the *Acharnians*, or the mock-Persian in the same play. While each of these three characters adds to the comic effect and thus enriches the play, the elimination of none of them would affect the dramatic structure. It will be found in the study of Plautus and Terence, on the other hand, that the foreigner frequently is a leading, or at least an essential, rôle in the technique of the plot.

[49] Aristotle in the *Ἀθ. πολ.* 26, 4 says that a law was passed, on the proposal of Pericles, that no one should have the rights of citizenship whose parents were not both citizens.

[50] Phot. *s.v.* *Ποτάμιοι.* Reference is made in Aristoph. 225 and Cratinus 233 to the *ναυτοδίκαι*, before whom cases of doubtful citizenship were brought. Hesych. *s.v.* *ναυτοδίκαι.*

Hanno in the *Poenulus* and the mock-Persian in the *Persa* are striking examples. The foreigner in Old Comedy is introduced more for comic purposes than in Hellenistic comedy, in which the structure of the plot demands him.

Attacks are made upon foreigners in Old Comedy both as racial groups and as individuals. The latter would be expected in view of the tendency of Old Comedy to attack individuals of all kinds; and it is seen especially in the ridicule made of supposed individual citizens for foreign birth. Frequently the nationality is specified. More common, however, as the foregoing exposition of Old Comedy shows, is the attack upon peoples or states as a whole. This may afford a basis for comparison with the handling of the foreigner in later comedy.

CHAPTER III

The Mental and Moral Characteristics of the Foreigner in Hellenistic Comedy

In a discussion of any phase of the foreigner in Hellenistic comedy it must be borne carefully in mind that there is a wide distinction between the Greek material and the Latin. The former is altogether fragmentary, a fact which precludes the possibility of following the foreigner as an active rôle in the plot of a play. It can only furnish allusions to foreigners in racial or political groups. The evidence of Plautus and Terence, on the other hand, while containing allusions to various nationalities, also reveals some individual foreigners in action.

Again, the foreigner in the nature of the Greek evidence is essentially the non-Athenian; for, generally speaking, we do not know the scene of the Greek plays, and cannot regard the possibility that in a given play an Athenian himself may have been a foreigner so far as the scene of the play was laid in a town outside Athens. Roughly speaking, so far as the evidence is Greek, the point of view from which the foreigner is treated is Athenian; while in the Roman plays we can distinguish both the foreigner as non-Athenian, and the foreigner who is an outsider with reference to the scene of the play. Moreover in the Latin evidence we can discriminate a few references obviously from the Roman standpoint.

In this chapter I shall discuss the *mores* of the foreigner in the Hellenistic period. So far as possible I shall endeavor, by reference to other sources of information, to test the truth of attacks made by the comic poets on foreign political or racial groups. The assumption of course is that these sources are independent of comedy. Otherwise they are worthless for the purpose. Steinhausen, in a dissertation Κωμῳδούμενοι (1910), undertakes to show that attacks on individuals and races in comedy formed the subjects of treatises, and that these treatises had considerable influence over later literature. One must be cautious then in accepting as proof of the veracity of charges made in comedy the statements of later writers, who may themselves ultimately have derived their information from comedy itself.

GREEK STATES

The reputation of *Boeotia* was not enhanced, whether in history or in literary tradition, by her propinquity to Athens. With regard to Boeotian excesses, as Rhys Roberts shows,[1] it would be hardly fair to accept the statements of the comic poets as sober history, just as a City Feast might not be judged solely from the pages of *Punch*. This warning applies to all nationalities foreign to Athens. Gourmandizing is the most conspicuous vice charged against the Boeotians. Mnesimachus 2 reads: εἰμὶ γὰρ Βοιώτιος . . . πολλὰ δ' ἐσθίων.[2] Diphilus 22 is from a play entitled Βοιώτιος, according to Athenaeus 417 e: οἷος ἐσθίειν πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀρξάμενος ἢ πάλιν πρὸς ἡμέραν. As it is in harmony with other evidence it is highly probable that it applies to a Boeotian. Eubulus 66:

σὺ μὲν τὸ Θήβης, ὡς λέγεις, πέδον λιπών,
ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων ἐσθίειν δι' ἡμέρας
ὅλης τραχήλους καὶ κοπρῶνος πλησίον.

Eubulus 34:

Βοιωτῶν πόλιν
ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων ἐσθίειν δι' ἡμέρας.

It is a matter not of the entire day alone but of the entire night as well in Eubulus 53:

μετὰ ταῦτα Θήβας ἦλθον, οὗ τὴν νύχθ', ὅλην
τὴν θ' ἡμέραν δειπνοῦσι καὶ κοπρῶν' ἔχει
ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἕκαστος, οὗ πλήρει βρότῳ
οὐκ ἔστι μεῖζον ἀγαθόν. ὡς χεζητιῶν
μακρὰν βαδίζων, πολλὰ δ' ἰδίων ἀνήρ,
δάκνων τὰ χείλη, παγγέλοιός ἐστ' ἰδεῖν.[3]

Demonicus 1:

ἐσπουδάκει δ' ἕκαστος, ὡς ἂν ἐστιῶν
ἅμα τ' ὀξύπεινον ἄνδρα καὶ Βοιώτιον.

[1] *The Ancient Boeotians* p. 5 n. 2.

[2] The fragments are quoted from Kock *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (1880–1888).

[3] Athenaeus 417 a says that entire nations are satirized for gourmandizing. He gives Boeotia as an example, quoting this passage. All the passages quoted thus far owe their preservation to Athenaeus 417 c–e.

The special accomplishment of the Boeotians and the corresponding deficiency of the Athenians are put in striking contrast in the Ἀντιόπη of Eubulus 12:

πώνειν μὲν ἁμὲς καὶ φαγεῖν μέγ' ἀνδρικοί
καὶ καρτερεῖμεν, τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις λέγειν
καὶ μικρὰ φαγέμεν, τοὶ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μέγα.[4]

The most unkind cut of all is found in Eubulus 39:

οὕτω σφόδρ' ἐστὶ τοὺς τρόπους Βοιώτιος,
ὥστ' οὐδὲ δειπνῶν, ὡς λέγουσ', ἐμπίμπλαται.

The charge of sluggishness is associated, as is natural, with that of excess in eating, Alexis 237:

νῦν δ' ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς Βοιώτιοι
φαίνησθ' εἶναι τοῖς διασύρειν ὑμᾶς εἰθισμένοις,
ὡς ἀκίνητοι νῦν εἶναι βοᾶν καὶ πονεῖν μόνον
καὶ δειπνεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι διὰ τέλους τὴν νύχθ' ὅλην,
γυμνοῦθ' αὐτοὺς θᾶττον ἅπαντες.[5]

Anonymous 337 is a passage from a certain Dicaearchus,[6] which mentions the respective vices of the several Boeotian cities. Nauck[7] thinks that it consists of excerpts from comedy. None of the qualities mentioned has special significance except *ἀναισθησία*, which is ascribed to the inhabitants of Haliartus. It is unreasonable to sup-

[4] Eustathius 954, 33 says that it is a Boeotian who speaks these words.

[5] In Aristophanes *Frogs* 899 the Athenians are described as *οὐκ ἀκίνητοι φρένες*. The Athenians are quick-witted in contrast to the dull-witted Boeotians, as Kock, on the use of *ἀκίνητοι* in Alexis, says. The statement of Plutarch, himself a Boeotian, is of special value *Moralia* 995 e: *τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἡμᾶς οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ παχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἠλιθίους μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀδηφαγίας προσαγορεύουσιν· . . . καὶ ὁ Μένανδρος 'οἱ γνάθους ἔχουσι'*. Meineke thinks that *γνάθους ἔχουσι* are the words of Menander. In any case, judging from Plutarch's statement, Menander must have satirized the Boeotians for their propensity to gluttony. Hits at the stupidity of the Boeotians as due to the heavy atmosphere of their country are found in Cic. *de Fato* 4, 7; Hor. *Ep.* II 1, 244.

[6] 1, 25 in C. Müller *Geog. Min.* I 104. For the identity of Dicaearchus and for the historical value of the passage see Pauly Wissowa *Realenc. s.v. Dikaiarchos.* Roberts *The Ancient Boeotians* p. 10 comments on the passage.

[7] *Philologus* VI 425, 26. Yet he puts the passage into metrical form, with unimportant changes, which suggests that he was not certain of its being from several sources. He mentions the fact that Antiphanes, Theophilus, and Menander each wrote a *Βοιωτία*.

pose that each of nine towns in a district the size of Boeotia should possess a distinctive vice.[8]

The *Pharsalians* and the *Mantineans* both suffer from the charge of excess in eating, though in each case but one fragment in the whole range of comedy makes the charge, and in each case an individual is the target. Mnesimachus 8 bears on the former:

τῶν Φαρσαλίων
ἥκει τις ἵνα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας καταφάγῃ;
Β. οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν. Α. εὖ γε δρῶντες ἆρά που
ὀπτὴν κατεσθίουσι πόλιν Ἀχαικήν;

The interpretation of Athenaeus[9] makes the individual stand for the race. A Mantinean is satirized in Theophilus 3.

Ἀτρεστίδας τις Μαντινεὺς λοχαγὸς ἦν,
ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων πλεῖστα δυνάμενος φαγεῖν.

The racial characteristic is not inevitable here; and, as Athenaeus quotes this among other passages attacking individuals, 417 a, while in 417 b he expressly takes up entire nations, it may be inferred that he makes a distinction. Moreover the man is called by name, while in the Pharsalian passage he is not.

[8] A single passage, Laon 2, is favorable to the Boeotians:

Βοιώτιον ἄνδρα στέργε, τὴν Βοιωτίαν
μὴ φεῦγ'. ὁ μὲν γὰρ χρηστός, ἡ δ' ἐφίμερος.

Dicaearchus *loc. cit.* 1, 22 says of it: γράφει δ' ἐπαινῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ λέγων τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Meineke I p. 486 n. 14 thinks that the play of Antiphanes called Φιλοθήβαιος ridiculed those at Athens who imitated the customs of the Thebans.

Roberts *op. cit.* chap. I has gathered all the evidence, literary and historical, pertaining to the reputation of the ancient Boeotians. He concludes, on this basis that, while there were some grounds for Athens' harsh opinion as expressed in the proverb Βοιωτία ὗς, the evidence outside of comedy does not substantiate the severe strictures of the comedians. He says on p. 76: "Under such untoward conditions [the undoubted ill-fortune of their country in respect of historians, and of Attic prejudice and Attic contrast], we can well believe that steadiness and solidity might come to be regarded as stupidity (ἀναισθησία); a proud and warlike spirit, as insolence (ὕβρις); simplicity in a good sense, as simplicity in a bad sense (the two kinds of εὐήθεια); self-indulgence as swinishness (Βοιωτία ὗς)." See Steinhausen Κωμῳδούμενοι p. 62 n. 3.

[9] 418 b: Φαρσάλιοι δὲ κωμῳδοῦνται ὡς πολυφάγοι. Μνησίμαχος γοῦν ἐν Φιλίππῳ φησί κτλ.

Thessaly: akin to the charge just discussed is that of high-living, for which the Thessalians are frequently ridiculed. Alexis 213 reads:

μέλλοντα δειπνίζειν γὰρ ἄνδρα Θετταλὸν
οὐκ Ἀττικηρῶς οὐδ' ἀπηκριβωμένως
λιμῷ παρελθεῖν . . . ἃ δεῖ καθ' ἕν
ἕκαστον αὐτοῖς παρατιθέντα [μεγαλείως δέ].[10]

The same adjective is applied to the Thessalians in Eriphus 6:

εὐτραπέζων Θετταλῶν ξένων τροφαί.[11]

In Ephippus 1 the epithet κολλικοφάγος is applied to a Thessalian:[12]

παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' ἐκ Θετταλίας
κολλικοφάγου κρίβανος ἄρτων.

Antiphanes 276 puts the point strikingly:

ἓν νόσημα τοῦτ' ἔχει·
ἀεὶ γὰρ ὀξύπεινός ἐστι. Β. Θετταλὸν λέγεις
κομιδῇ τὸν ἄνδρα.

They preferred their steaks cut thick, Philetaerus 10

καὶ χειροβαρὲς σαρκὸς ὑείας
Θετταλότμητον κρέας.[13]

Eubulus 88 satirizes the distinctive Thessalian characteristic, though in a modified form:

τρέφει με Θετταλός τις, ἄνθρωπος βαρύς,
πλουτῶν, φιλάργυρος δὲ, κἀλιτήριος,
ὀψοφάγος, ὀψωνῶν δὲ μέχρι τριωβόλου.

The antithesis πλουτῶν, φιλάργυρος δέ is balanced by ὀψοφάγος, ὀψωνῶν δέ. He is a gourmand by nature, but, being miserly as well, he will not

[10] Whether the words in brackets are those of the comic poet, as Mein. thinks, or those of Athen., as Kock thinks, the following comment of Athen. indicates the significance of the passage: εὐτράπεζοί εἰσιν ὄντως οἱ Θετταλοί.

[11] Eustath. 331, 14, as well as Athen., makes note of the propensities of the Thessalians as indicated in this fragment.

[12] The same epithet is applied to the Boeotians in Ar. *Ach.* 872.

[13] Eustath. 857, 30 quotes the same words without mentioning the poet's name. On that basis he calls the Thessalians πολυφάγοι. For similar comic hits in Old Comedy cf. Crates 19, Hermippus 41.

spend his own money to an extent exceeding three obols in order to indulge his appetite.[14] It is to be noted that the attack is on an individual, not upon the race.[15]

Sybaris: anonymous 684, Συβαριτικὴ τράπεζα,[16] means a table worthy of the Sybarites, i.e., one that was maintained according to the most luxurious standards.[17]

Corinth: in comedy as in history[18] ancient Corinth was notorious for its many beautiful courtesans and for its licentiousness. Of the

[14] This interpretation was suggested to me by Professor H. W. Prescott. It contradicts Kock's notion that the passage is inconsistent and that ὀψοφάγος must be corrupt. Kock would emend to μονοφάγος or σκατοφάγος.

[15] Evidence of Thessalian love of luxury and highliving is not confined to comedy. Plato *Crito* 53 d mentions the vices of ἀταξία and ἀκολασία as prevalent in Thessaly; 53 e reads: τί ποιῶν ἢ εὐωχούμενος ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀποδεδημηκὼς εἰς Θετταλίαν. Xen. *Mem.* 1, 2, 24 refers to the ἀνομία there. Theopompus, in Athen. 527 a, describes Thessalian license and indulgence. Cf. Athen. 624 c.

[16] This proverb occurs in Zenobius' collection V 87 (see Leutsch-Schneidewin *Paroemiogr. Gr.* I 156), with the comment: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν πολυτελείᾳ. Τρυφηταὶ γὰρ Συβαρῖται; also in Apostolius XV 83 a (see Leutsch-Schneid. II 649), with the comment: ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγαν τρυφηλῶν. Cf. Aristoph. *Peace* 344 συβαρίζειν, on which the scholiast says: ἀντὶ τοῦ τρυφᾶν, ἀπὸ τῆς Συβαριτικῆς τρυφῆς. Suid. *s.v.* Συβαριτικαῖς: Συβαρῖται δὲ γάστριες ἦσαν καὶ τρυφηταί. Cf. Hdt. VI 127; Athen. 518–21.

[17] The life of luxury portrayed in the *Miles* may be mentioned in this connection. All that can be said of Periplectomenus 612 ff. is that he has the love of pleasure and refined luxurious living for which the Ionians were notorious (Cf. Plut. *Lycurgus* 4). Legrand *Daos* p. 66 is doubtful whether he could pass as a foreigner. At least, in his opinion, Periplectomenus would be the only one of Ephesian nationality in the play. Leo *Plaut. Forsch.*[2] p. 181 n. 4 thinks that we have a Stück neuattischen Lebens.

The Ionians in general, Athen. says, are satirized in Antiphanes 91: πόθεν οἰκήτωρ, ἤ τις Ἰώνων / τρυφεραμπεχόνων ἁβρὸς ἡδυπαθὴς / ὄχλος ὥρμηνται; cf. Menander 462 lines 10, 11: Ἰωνικὸς πλούταξ· ὑποστάσεις ποιῶ, / κάνδαυλον, ὑποβινητιῶντα βρώματα. In Old Comedy cf. Callias 5.

[18] The wealth and prosperity of ancient Corinth are referred to in numerous places, e.g. Hdt. III 52; Pindar *Ol.* XIII 4; Thuc. I 13. Zenobius V 37 says that it was noted for the number and beauty of its courtesans. Many rich foreign merchants passed through Corinth, stopping long enough to spend their money on the courtesans, Strabo VIII 6, 20. In the same passage Strabo tells of more than a thousand sacred *hetaerae* whose earnings were dedicated to Aphrodite. In view of the facility with which merchants spent their money there, says Strabo, the proverb arose: οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς. For more on this subject see Daremberg et Saglio *s.v. meretrices* III[2] p. 1823; Lobeck *Aglaophamus* p. 1021.

anonymous fragment 739 Κορίνθιαι πέδαι, Hesychius says: αἱ ἀπὸ Κορίνθου τῆς πόλεως γυναῖκες. Κορινθιαστῆς as the name of a play both of Philetaerus and of Poliochus seems significant.[19] In the play of Philetaerus 5 are the following lines:

οὐκ ἐτὸς ἑταίρας ἱερόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ,
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

The context is lacking, but the fact that they occur in a play on Corinth would seem to connect them with the Corinthian *hetaerae*.[20] Alexis 253 reads as follows:

Ἀφροδίσι' ἦγε ταῖς ἑταίραις ἡ πόλις·
ἕτερα δὲ χωρίς ἐστι ταῖς ἐλευθέραις.
ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις δὲ κωμάζειν ἔθος
ἔστιν, νόμος τε τὰς ἑταίρας ἐνθάδε
μεθύειν [21] μεθ' ἡμῶν.

Athenaeus 574 b provides the identity of the πόλις in the first line as Corinth, and says: Ἀφροδίσια ἴδια ἄγουσιν αὐτόθι αἱ ἑταῖραι, Ἄλεξις ἐν Φιλούσῃ φησίν. Anaxandrides 9 mentions the *hetaera* Lais from Corinth, the most famous of her *hetaerae*.[22] Her name occurs in Eriphus 6 also.[23] Anonymous fragment 123 describes the inhabitants of Corinth as ἀχαρίτους and ἀνεπαφροδίτους.[24] The former adjective, which signifies ungracious, suggests the meaning of the latter. In

[19] Steph. Byz. says *s.v.* Κόρινθος· κορινθιάζομαι τὸ ἑταιρεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἑταιρῶν· ἢ τὸ μαστροπεύειν. Cf. Lobeck *Aglaoph.* p. 1021.

[20] Cf. Athen. 571 c.

[21] Reading supplied by Porson.

[22] See Dar. et Sag. *s.v. Meretrices* III² p. 1823.

[23] The reading of anonym. 1360 is uncertain. Meineke thinks it should be κυνόφαλλοι, *quo libidines Corinthiorum a poeta comico notari potuerunt.* In *Heauton* 96–98 a woman is spoken of as having come from Corinth, who, though not called a *lena*, is practically such, for her sole interest is gain, 234. In *Hecyra* 85–87 a *meretrix* tells of going off to Corinth to live for two years with a soldier. That sort of thing was thought of as more general at Corinth than elsewhere. Cf. Eubulus 54; Diphilus 32 in the Ἔμπορος, of which the scene is Corinth (see Athen. 227 e), implies that luxury was so common at Corinth that serious efforts were made to restrain it; Apollod. of Carystus 5 ll. 21, 22.

[24] On this word cf. Aul. Gellius *Noctes Atticae* I, 5, 3 *fin.* The Latin *invenustus* has a similar meaning.

contrast to their beautiful city the Corinthians are destitute of the finer graces.[25]

Epidamnus: Menaechmi 258–264 is an arraignment of the Epidamnians for a variety of vices which are in a class with those that have been treated:

> *Nam ita est haec hominum natio: in Epidamnieis*
> *voluptarii atque potatores maxumei;*
> *tum sycophantae et palpatores plurumei*
> *in urbe hac habitant; tum meretrices mulieres*
> *nusquam perhibentur blandiores gentium*
> *propterea huic urbei nomen Epidamno inditumst,*
> *quia nemo ferme huc sine damno devortitur.*

The etymology in 263,64 is intended to be *ἐπί+damnum*. That the Romans thought of the name as connected with the Latin *damnum* is shown by the fact that they changed it to *Dyrrachium* because of the ill omen.[26] These two verses then are original with the Latin poet. Legrand *Daos* 66, 67 says that the *Menaechmi* does not provide a picture of the life of Epidamnus. But he considers the sally of Messenio 258 ff. "une boutade isolée." It seems highly probable that 258–62 is from a Greek original. The Greek dramatist would hardly have allowed such an attack had he been speaking of his home town.[27] It must remain a matter of opinion, but it appears to me that the passage is a conscious thrust at foreigners.

[25] In Alexis 210 the parasite Chaerephon flies over sea to Corinth to dinner uninvited. Menander 764: Κορινθίῳ πίστευε καὶ μὴ χρῶ φίλῳ is made the basis of a charge of faithlessness against the Corinthians by Legrand *Daos* p. 71. It appears to mean, "if you trust a Corinthian you will never find him a true friend." It does not seem possible to understand the negative with the first verb from its use with the second, as Mein. does. Mein. compares Theocr. *Epigr.* 6, 6, where however οὐδέ, not μή, is used, a different matter. The scene of Menander's *Periceiromene* is Corinth (see Capps' *Men.* p. 144). Capps sees no attempt at local coloring, and says that there is no apparent reason why Men. chose Corinth rather than Athens as the scene of the play (p. 145). Koerte thinks (*ed. maior* xxxii) Men. may have selected Corinth because Athenian laws concerning concubinage were less suited to his play.

[26] Pliny *N.H.* III 23; Pomp. Mela II 3.

[27] Phillipson in Pauly-Wissowa *Realenc. s.v. Dyrrhachion* says: Ihre Einwohner, deren Haupgöttin Venus war (Catull. 36, 15), waren als ausschweifend und lasterhaft bekannt (Plaut. *Men.* 258 ff.). He makes this passage alone sufficient evidence for the actual character of the Epidamnians.

Chalcis: the verb χαλκιδίζειν (anonymous 1192) the comic poets are said to have used to connote φιλαργυρία,[28] and παιδεραστεῖν.[29] Philiscus 3: χρηστῶν σφόδρ' ἔσθ' ἡ Χαλκὶς Ἑλλήνων πόλις is quoted after a statement of Dicaearchus[30] that the Chalcidians acquired the habit of bearing their misfortunes lightly. But, as Kock remarks, ῥᾴθυμοι and χρηστοί are not equivalent.[31]

Sicily (Syracuse, Agrigentum): love of luxury is conspicuous among the Sicilians, if Philemon 76 and Epicrates 6 are to be trusted. Sicily is, in many passages, celebrated for the skill of its cooks,[32] a fact which is rather naturally associated with their luxurious propensities. Sicilians are *homines voluptarii* in *Rudens* 54; the greatest profits can be made among them with courtesans, *Rudens* 56. A *senex* (from Agrigentum) is branded as *scelestus* and *urbis proditor* in *Rudens* 50.[33]

[28] Thus Plut. *Prov.* 1, 84: ἐπὶ τῶν γλισχρευομένων. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Χαλκιδεῖς ἐπὶ φιλαργυρίᾳ ἐκωμῳδοῦντο. Eustath. 279, 18; Suid. on χαλκιδίζειν καὶ χαλκιδεύεσθαι·

[29] Hesych. χαλκιδίζειν· ἐπὶ τῶν παιδεραστούντων, ἐπεὶ ἐπλεόναζον παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ παιδικοὶ ἔρωτες; Plut. *Mor.* 761 a says that the Chalcidians formerly censured τὸ παιδεραστεῖν but at that time (the time when Cleomachus, the Thessalian, assisted the Chalcidians in a war with Eretria) they held it in high esteem and honor.

[30] *Frag. Hist. Graec.* II 261.

[31] In any event the allusion is complimentary. A play of Axionicus entitled Χαλκιδικός is thought by Kock to have treated a man who imitated the customs of the Chalcidians, not a citizen of Chalcis. In *Pseud.* 729–31 a man *malus et doctus* has just arrived from Carystus, a town in Euboea. The fact that he is a suitable person to take the rôle of impostor is of course due merely to his being an alien and not to the fact that he is from Euboea. A Euboean soldier is mentioned in *Epid.* 153. He is called a Rhodian *miles* in 300. On this apparent inconsistency cf. Langen *Plaut. Studien* pp. 140, 41, who shows that there really is no contradiction. In 300 Epidicus is inventing the whole story to impose upon Periphanes. Ussing agrees with Langen. Strabo 10, 448 says that the Eretrians are satirized for their excessive use of the letter ρ. Cf. Suid. on χαλκιδίζειν, who associates the Chalcidians with the Eretrians in this practice.

[32] Cf. Antiph. 90, Diphilus 119, Ephippus 22, Alexis 24, Cratinus the Younger 21. Comedy makes only less noted in cookery the Eleans, Epicrates 6, Antiph. 236; and the Chians, Timocles 37, Baton 4, Euphron 1, l. 6 (cf. Athen. 25 e, f). For a fuller discussion as to the region of the Greek world from which μάγειροι came, see Rankin *The Rôle of the* Μάγειροι *in the Life of the Ancient Greeks* ch. IV. On Sicilian cooking outside comedy see Plato *Gorgias* 518 b, *Repub.* 404 d. Cf. the proverb Συρακοσίων τράπεζα Athen. 527, Macarius VII 92 (Schneid.-Leutsch).

[33] This last appears to be a personal rather than a local attack. Plays entitled Σικελικός were written by Philemon and Diphilus; one entitled Συρακόσιος by Alexis. Their content is a matter of mere conjecture. Another reference to Sicily is found in Epicrates 11, ll. 27–29.

Argos: thieving, drunkenness, and litigiousness are charged against the Argives. Hesychius assists the interpretation of anonymous 849 Ἀργεία φορά by the comment: ὡς φιλοδίκους καὶ συκοφάντας Ἀργείους κωμῳδοῦσιν.[34] Diphilus 120 reads: τὸ μὲν Ἄργος ἵππος, οἱ δ' ἐνοικοῦντες λύκοι.[35] Alexis 153 reads: καὶ γὰρ Ἀργείους ὁρῶ. Macarius II 38[36] on Ἀργείους ὁρᾷς comments: ἐπὶ τῶν [πρὸς] ὅτι οὖν ἀποβλεπόντων καταπλητικώτατα. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ κλοπῇ ὑπονοουμένων ἰδίως, παρόσον εἰς τοῦτο κωμῳδοῦνται Ἀργεῖοι.[37] Ephippus 2 charges the Argives and the Tirynthians with drunkenness: Τιρύνθιον Ἀργεῖον, οἱ μεθύοντες ἀεὶ τὰς μάχας πάσας μάχονται; B. τοιγαροῦν φεύγουσ' ἀεί; on which Athenaeus comments: κωμῳδοῦνται δὲ ὡς μέθυσοι Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ Τιρύνθιοι ὑπὸ Ἐφίππου ἐν Βουσίριδι.[38]

Byzantium: in Menander 67 is the following:

πάντας μεθύσους τοὺς ἐμπόρους
ποιεῖ τὸ Βυζάντιον· ὅλην ἐπίνομεν
τὴν νύκτα διὰ σὲ καὶ σφόδρ' ἄκρατόν μοι δοκῶ.
ἀνίσταμαι γοῦν τέτταρας κεφαλὰς ἔχων.[39]

Sparta stands in sharp contrast with the cities that are satirized particularly for sensual vices. In Antiphanes 44 the frugality and hard mode of life at Sparta are made fun of:

[34] Cf. Diogenianus II 79, Apostol. III 76, Eustath. 286, 19, 20, all of whose comments are in accord with Hesych.

[35] The statement regarding the Argives in Isocrates *Philippus* 52 may throw light on the meaning of λύκοι: αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πλουσιωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύουσιν καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες οὕτω χαίρουσιν, ὡς οὐδένες ἄλλοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποκτείνοντες. Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* V 21. See Steinhausen Κωμῳδούμενοι p. 33 n. 1, p. 62 n. 3.

[36] *Paroemiographi Graeci* ed. Schneidewin-Leutsch.

[37] Cf. *appendix prov.* III 35. The expression Ἀργεῖοι φῶρες occurs in Aristoph. 57, on which cf. Suidas.

[38] Cauer in Pauly-Wissowa *Realenc. s.v. Argolis fin.* speaks of the notoriety of the Argives for drinking, litigiousness, and stealing. All the evidence which he adduces, however, is from comedy.

[39] To this charge that Byzantium is "wide-open" Aelian *Var. Hist.* III 14 gives weight by using the epithet οἰνόφλυγες of the Byzantines. Cf. entire section. At the end of it he says that Menander seems to agree with what he had said: μεθύσους τοὺς ἐμπόρους etc. Eustath. on *Dionys. Perieg.* 804 says: κωμῳδοῦνται δὲ εἰς μέθην οἱ παλαιοὶ Βυζάντιοι. In Diphilus 17 lines 11, 12 a cook at Athens speaks of the Byzantines as liking their food smothered in wormwood.

Kubitschek Pauly-Wissowa *Realenc. s.v. Byzantion* does not accept the stories of the Byzantine propensities to drink as established fact. With reference to the Milesians Athen. 442 e says: Μιλησίους δ' Εὔβουλος ἐν Κατακολλωμένῳ ὑβριστὰς εἶναί φησι μεθυσθέντας. Cf. Eubulus 42, which is in praise of a Milesian maiden.

ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
γέγονας; ἐκείνων τῶν νόμων μεθεκτέον
ἐστίν. βάδιζ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὰ φειδίτια,
ἀπόλαυε τοῦ ζωμοῦ, φόρει τοὺς βύστακας
μὴ καταφρόνει, μηδ' ἕτερ' ἐπιζήτει καλά,
ἐν τοῖς δ' ἐκείνων ἔθεσιν ἴσθ' ἀρχαικός.[40]

The adverb λακωνικῶς in Diphilus 96, from the context, must mean 'sparingly.' *Captivi* 471: *nil morantur iam Lacones unisubselli viros*[41] is a slur cast at the Spartans, to whom the parasites are compared in respect to the hard benches which both use at the table. The Spartans by choice refused the luxury of reclining. Anonymous 410 ἐν Σπάρτῃ μόνῃ / τυφλός ἐσθ' ὁ Πλούτος ὥσπερ ἄψυχος γραφή hits Sparta for holding wealth in such low esteem. Porphyr. *de abstin.* 4, 4; Plut. *Lycurgus* 10. Laconian brevity, which is still proverbial, is satirized in anonymous 417, 18, 19: ἀγρὸν ἔσχ' ἐλάττω γῆν ἔχοντ' ἐπιστολῆς Λακωνικῆς.[42] A play of Stephanus entitled Φιλολάκων is thought by Meineke to have treated imitators of Spartan customs, which are satirized in Aristophanes *Birds* 1281 ἐλακωνομάνουν Plato 124 σπαρτιωκαίτην and others.[43] Antiphanes 117 appears to be a thrust at the degeneracy of the Spartans of the present as compared with the past when they were invincible:

οὐκ ἐφύσων Λάκωνες ὡς ἀπορθητοί ποτε;
νῦν δ' ὁρμηρεύουσ' ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς
κεκρυφάλους.[44]

[40] Athen. 142 f. διακωμῳδῶν Ἀντιφάνης τὰ Λακωνικὰ δεῖπνα. φειδίτια in line 3 may be a parody on φιλίτια, which means the common meals at Sparta, as Müller suggests *Dor.* II p. 274 n. 2. Cf. Plut. *Lycurgus* 12.

[41] Cf. *Stichus* 489; Cic. *pro Murena* 74 *cotidianis epulis in robore accumbunt* (of the Spartans); Plut. *Lyc.* 10; Ussing on *Capt.* 470 of his text says: *Lacones parasitos dicit, quia, ut pueri Lacedaemonii, sic et parasiti plagas et verbera ferre consueverant.* He compares Petr. *Sat.* 105: *tres plagas Spartana nobilitate concoxi.* The epithet *plagipatidas* in 472 suggests the interpretation which Ussing has given. For Spartan simplicity, economy, and hardihood generally compare Plut. *Lyc. passim.*

[42] Longinus *De Sublimitate* 38, 4 quotes it as an instance of τὰ κωμικά. Cf. Strabo I, 36. Plut. *Lyc.* 19, 20 discusses the Spartan custom of using as few words as possible, and its virtue.

[43] Cf. Plato *Protag.* 342 b and Demosth. *against Conon* 34 where λακωνίζω is used in an unfavorable sense from the point of view of Athens. See Mein. *Hist. Crit.* pp. 485, 86.

[44] On the decadence of Sparta cf. Aesch. *c. Ctesiph.* 133; Diod. XVII 73; Quint. Curtius VI I 16; Harpocration *s.v.* ὁμηρεύοντας. Kock comments: *quid* πορφυροῖ κεκρύφαλοι *sibi velint nescio, nisi forte poeta significat Lacedaemonios iam mulierum instar esse.*

Megara: against this town the comic thrusts are not specific. The precise meaning of μεγαρίζοντες, anonymous 1076, cannot be obtained, as the context is lacking. Words formed in such a manner seem to have been almost invariably uncomplimentary.[45] A sarcastic thrust is conveyed in anonymous 777:

μηδέποτε μηδεὶς γένοιτο Μεγαρέων σοφώτερος.[46]

Anonymous 536:

Μεγαρεῖς δὲ φεῦγε πάντας· εἰσὶ γὰρ πικροί

is referred by Meineke[47] to the *conviciorum petulantia* of the Megarians in their vulgar comedy. The Megarians are deserving of no consideration, according to two fragments, anonymous 502: Μεγαρεῖς γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ λόγου καὶ τἀριθμοῦ, and 673: Μεγαρέων οὐδεὶς λόγος.[48] In *Persa* 137, 38 a *leno* has recently migrated to Athens from Megara. The plot for the ruin of a girl and its execution at Megara are recounted in a fragment of *fabula palliata*.[49]

Acanthus: in Amphis 36 the comic poet takes advantage of the two meanings suggested by Ἀκάνθιος to make a thrust at a native of that town. The man is στρυφνός, thus contrasting with the sweet

[45] Cf. Λακωνίζω, Χαλκιδίζω, Κορινθιάζομαι, etc. This would not necessarily be true when the word was used of dialect. Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 822 μεγαριεῖς.

[46] This proverb is found in the collections of Apostol. 11, 54, and Diogen. 6, 57 with the comment: ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναισθήτου. χαριεντιζόμενοι δὲ τοῦτο ἔλεγον.

[47] *Hist. Crit.* p. 20. For a discussion of Megarian comedy and Athenian attitude toward it see Mein. *op. cit.* pp. 20 ff.

[48] This appears to have been a commonplace outside of comedy. Cf. Libanius *oratio pro rhetoribus* 215, 27: τὸ τῶν Μεγαρέων πεπονθέναι ῥητορική τε καὶ ῥήτορες ἔξω καὶ λόγου καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κείμενοι; and Plut. *Mor.* 730 d: τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτῶν ὥσπερ Μεγαρέων οὐδεὶς λόγος. Callimachus *Ep.* XXV: Μεγαρέων οὐ λόγος οὐδ' ἀριθμός; Theocr. XIV 48, 49: οὔτε λόγῳ τινὸς ἄξιοι οὔτ' ἀριθμητοί, / δύστηνοι Μεγαρῆες. The Megarian episode in Aristoph. *Ach.* 729 ff. supports the view of Megara as a town noted for its brothels.

[49] Ribbeck *Comic. Rom. Fragmenta*,[3] *Ex Incertis Incertorum Fab.*, ll. 2–4. On the proverb: Μεγαρέων δάκρυα Hesych. says ἐπὶ τῶν προσποιητῶς δακρυόντων. See Mein. *Hist. Crit.* p. 21 n. 6.

wine of Acanthus, but agreeing in character with the name of the town, ἄκανθα being the word for thorn.[50]

Delos: in Crito 3 line 8 the Delians are called παράσιτοι τοῦ θεοῦ. This may be satire on their willingness to act as attendants at the preparation of the sacrificial offerings.[51]

Sunium: Anaxandrides 4 represents Sunium as a town where slaves may quickly become citizens and enjoy full rights:

> πολλοὶ δὲ νῦν μέν εἰσιν οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι,
> εἰς αὔριον δὲ Συνιεῖς, εἶτ' εἰς τρίτην
> ἀγορᾷ κέχρηνται.

Cyrene: the people of Cyrene are ridiculed for lacking a sense of propriety. When one person is invited to a dinner, a large crowd of companions and attendants goes with him,[52] Alexis 239:

> ἄνθρωπος εἶναί μοι Κυρηναῖος δοκεῖς·
> κἀκεῖ γὰρ ἄν τις ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἕνα καλῇ,
> πάρεισιν ὀκτωκαίδεκ' ἄλλοι, καὶ δέκα
> ἅρματα συνωρίδες τε πεντεκαίδεκα.
> τούτοις δὲ δεῖ σε τἀπιτήδει' ἐμβαλεῖν,
> ὥστ' ἦν κράτιστον μηδὲ καλέσαι μηδένα.

Ceos: the reading of Menander 613 is as follows:

> καλὸν τὸ Κείων νόμιμόν ἐστι, Φανία·
> ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆν καλῶς οὐ ζῇ κακῶς.

Strabo 10, 486 and Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Ἰουλίς explain this passage from Menander as referring to the custom among the people

[50] The fact that it is a word play of course lessens the significance of the thrust. The last line of the fragm. yields an inference favorable to the character of the citizens of Acanthus in general. In Ter. *Andria* a gentleman of Andros plays a prominent part 796 ff., 904 ff. The characterization of him is favorable. Cf. Donatus on 796.

[51] Cf. Schoeffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Realenc. s.v. Delos* p. 2469, who refers to Athen. 173 b–d. Jebb *Jour. Hell. Stud.* I 22 says of the Delians: "an idle population, those parasites of Greece whom Delos nourished." He gives no evidence for the statement. Cf. Ferguson *Hellenistic Athens* p. 332.

[52] Cf. Eustath. 1148, 32. In Alexis 36 a certain Cyrenaean, Aristippus, is satirized. Most likely it is as the philosopher Aristippus rather than as native of Cyrene. The scene of the *Rudens* is laid in Cyrene. It would be difficult, however, to prove that any characteristics of the people of Cyrene are portrayed. None of the leading characters is a native of Cyrene.

of Ceos of disposing of persons beyond sixty years of age by means of hemlock in order that there may be a living sufficient for the rest.[53]

Myconus: anonymous 439: Μυκονίων δίκην ἐπεισπέπαικεν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, makes a thrust similar to the one above on Cyrene. Here, however, one does not even wait for an invitation.[54] In Apollodorus of Carystus 12 occurs the expression: Μυκόνιος φαλακρός, a hit at the tendency to baldness in Myconus.[55]

Other allusions to Greeks are too uncertain as to origin and date to be of much value.[56]

[53] Heraclides *de Polit.* IX and Aelian *V.H.* III 37 tell of the same practice. In Meleager (*A. P.* VII 470) a certain person, in reply to the question whether he had departed from life on account of old age or disease says: ἤλυθον Ἄιδαν αὐτοθελεὶ Κείων γευσάμενος κυλίκων. Val. Max. II 6, 8 notes the same practice in Ceos. Müller *Dorier* II p. 222 n. 1; Kretisch von Ursprung gewiss nicht Ionisch, sind nach meiner Meinung die wunderbar strengen Sittengesetze von Keos.

Other colorless or unimportant passages affecting foreigners are as follows: Lemnos, *Cist.* 157–87; Tanagra, Sophilus 4; Abydus, Eudoxus 2; Anactorium, *Poen.* 93, 94; Delphi, anonym. 460; Rhodes, *Eun.* 420, 423, 498; Diphilus 17; Lynceus 1; Perinthus, Lynceus 1; Sinope, Alexis 104; Crotona, anonym. 1270; Carthage, Menander 263. The use of ethnic names for procurers, e.g., *Cappadox* in *Curc.*, *Lycus* in *Poen.*, and for slaves e.g., *Davus* and *Geta* in *Phorm.*, *Lydus* in *Bacch.*, is realistic and has no special significance for our purpose.

[54] Suid. *s.v.* Μυκώνιος γείτων . . . καὶ ἑτέρα παροιμία· Μυκωνίων δίκην, etc. says: εἴρηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκλήτως εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ συμπόσια. Thus Archilochus in Athen. 7 f. Athen. *loc. cit.* says that the Myconians were slandered for stinginess and greed on account of their poverty and the barrenness of their island. See Apostol. XI 80. Cf. Zenob. II 19 and V 21 with notes. Cratinus 328—if indeed it is from comedy—harmonizes with the notion that the Myconians were very poor. Machon 2 line 11 makes an obscure reference to a Myconian.

[55] That baldness was more common among the people of Myconus than elsewhere is noted by various writers: Lucilius (Marx) 1211: *Myconi calva omnis iuventus*; Pliny *N.H.* XI 130: *Myconi carentes eo* (*pilus*) *gignuntur*; Strabo 10, 487: τοὺς φαλακροὺς τινες Μυκονίους καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο ἐπιχωριάζειν τῇ νήσῳ; Don. on Ter. *Hec.* 440: *imperite Terentium de Myconio crispum dixisse aiunt, cum Apollodorus calvum dixerit, quod proprium Myconiis est.*

[56] Anonym. 919 on Chios; anonym. 902 on Scyros; anonym. 712 on Siphnos, on which cf. also anonym. 1142 σιφνιάζειν.

The ὑπόθεσις of the play of Menander entitled Ἴμβριοι appears in the *Oxyrhyn. Pap.* X (1914) p. 86: two poor men living at Imbros married twin sisters. They worked diligently sharing the profits of their toil. There is no hint of satirizing the Imbrians, as might be expected from the comment of Photius: Ἴμβριοι· οἱ τὰς δίκας ὑποφεύγοντες ἐπειδὴ ἐσκήπτοντο ἐν Ἴμβρῳ εἶναι.Caec. Stat. wrote an *Imbrii*, (Ribbeck *Comic. Rom. Frag.*[3])

Macedonia: Meineke thinks that a boastful soldier of the Macedonian army, or possibly Philip himself, is represented in Mnesimachus 7 as boasting of the warlike character of the people.[57] In the *Pseudolus* 653, 54 the *cacula militis Macedonici* is treated by Pseudolus as likely to live up to his name. In 655 Harpax admits that he got his name from his custom *hostis vivos rapere ex acie*.[58]

ORIENTALS

Egypt: ridicule of the Egyptians for animal worship is common. The ibis, the dog, and the cat are the theme of Timocles 1 in the Αἰγύπτιοι:

πῶς ἂν μὲν οὖν σώσειεν ἶβις ἢ κύων;
ὅπου γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ὁμολογουμένους θεοὺς
ἀσεβοῦντες οὐ διδόασιν εὐθέως δίκην,
τίν' αἰελούρου βωμὸς ἐπιτρίψειεν ἄν;

Antiphanes 147 makes sport of the eel as a subject for divine honors, placing it above the gods:[59]

τὰ τ' ἄλλα δεινούς φασι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους
εἶναι τὸ νομίσαι τ' ἰσόθεον τὴν ἔγχελυν·
πολὺ τῶν θεῶν γάρ ἐστι τιμιωτέρα.
τῶν μὲν γὰρ εὐξαμένοισιν ἐσθ' ἡμῖν τυχεῖν,
τούτων δὲ δραχμὰς τοὐλάχιστον δώδεκα
ἢ πλέον ἀναλώσασιν ὀσφρὲσθαι μόνον.
οὕτως ἐσθ' ἅγιον παντελῶς τὸ θηρίον.[60]

Anaxandrides 39 is a highly amusing passage giving the reasons why the Athenians cannot make an alliance with the Egyptians: their customs and their laws are widely different, the difference consisting

[57] Cf. Eustath. 1085, 47.

[58] The word play lessens the significance of the thrust against a Macedonian as such. Cf. the case of Acanthus *supra* p. 49. Yet it is in harmony with the characterization of another Macedonian viz. the *miles* himself in 1040, 41: *illum dentatum virum Macedoniensem.*

In Antiph. 124 ll. 13–15 Philip does not live up to his promises; Menander 924 is satire on Alexander's great power. Both attacks, however, are individual, not national.

[59] The passage contains a play on the double sense of τίμιος as costly and honored. For a similar word play cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 758.

[60] Athen. 299 e Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λύκωνι κωμῳδῶν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους.

chiefly in the divine consideration paid to the cow, the eel, the pig, the dog, the cat, and the field mouse. Besides, their priests are eunuchs.[61] It is as follows:

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην συμμαχεῖν ὑμῖν ἐγώ·
οὔθ' οἱ τρόποι γὰρ ὁμονοοῦσ' οὔθ' οἱ νόμοι
ἡμῶν, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δὲ διέχουσιν πολύ.
βοῦν προσκυνεῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ θύω τοῖς θεοῖς·
τὴν ἔγχελυν μέγιστον ἡγεῖ δαίμονα,
ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ὄψων μέγιστον παρὰ πολύ.
οὐκ ἐσθίεις ὗει' ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἥδομαι
μάλιστα τούτοις· κύνα σέβεις, τύπτω δ' ἐγώ,
τοὔψον κατεσθίουσαν ἡνίκ' ἂν λάβω.
τοὺς ἱερέας ἐνθάδε μὲν ὁλοκλήρους νόμος
εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν δ', ὡς ἔοικ', ἀπηργμένους.
τὸν αἰέλουρον κακὸν ἔχοντ' ἐὰν ἴδῃς,
κλάεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἥδιστ' ἀποκτείνας δέρω.
δύναται παρ' ὑμῖν μυγαλῆ, παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ γ' οὐ.

Anonymous 387: Λυδοὶ πονηροί, δεύτεροι δ' Αἰγύπτιοι[62] is a general thrust. The whole fragment has the appearance of a form which may be filled out with any particular names. Cratinus the Younger 2 reads: ὡς σφόδρ' εἴσ' Αἰγυπτιώδεις· Σωχάρης, Πααμύλης.[63]

Arabia: Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Ἀραβία in connection with the proverb Ἀράβιος αὐλητής quotes the fragment (anonymous 268): δραχμῆς μὲν ηὔλει τεττάρων δ' ἐπαύετο. He will play for a quarter but wants a dollar to stop.[64]

Phoenicia: anonymous 397:

εὐθὺς Φοῖνιξ γίγνομαι
τῇ μὲν δίδωμι χειρί, τῇ δὲ λαμβάνω,

[61] Cf. Eustath. 1183, 13.

[62] See Apos. X 100; Diogenianus VI 24. This may have been derived from a similar conventional expression in Phocylides 1: Λέριοι κακοί· οὐχ ὁ μέν, ὃς δ' οὐ· / πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέους καὶ Προκλέης Λέριος.

[63] A Latin translation of which is given by Kock: "*quam valde hi omnes Aegyptiam originem redolent: Sochares, Paamyles.*" Other references to the Egyptians occur in anonym. 181, Philemon 59.

Information about animal worship in Egypt and its attendant superstitions is abundant outside of comedy. See Wiedemann *Herodots Zweites Buch* pp. 271 ff. Also see index *s.v. Thiercult.*

[64] See Zenobius II 58; Macarius II 37; Apostol. III 70, 71; VI 36 a; Greg. Cypr. I 32. Cf. the Theban flute-players *Ach.* 862 ff.

is a comic description of the well known prominence of the Phoenicians as traders.[65] The lexicographers interpret the proper adjective in anonymous 1293 Φοινικελίκτην καὶ λόγων ἀλαζόνα as meaning tricky.[66]

Persia: in Antiphanes 172 the splendor of the Persian table is compared with the frugality of the Greeks:

τί δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες μικροτράπεζοι
φυλλοτρῶγες δράσειαν; ὅπου
τέτταρα λήψει κρέα μίκρ' ὀβολοῦ.
παρὰ δ' ἡμετέροις προγόνοισιν ὅλους
ὀπτῶσιν βοῦς, ἐλάφους, ἄρνας·
τὸ τελευταῖον δ' ὁ μάγειρος ὅλον
τέρας ὀπτήσας μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ
θερμὴν παρέθηκε κάμηλον.[67]

In *Persa* 707, 708 we read:

Ita sunt Persarum mores: longa nomina
contortiplicata habemus.

This refers to the four lines 702–705, which is a collection of fictitious compounds given as the names of the fake-Persian.

Syria: Menander satirizes the Syrians (fragment 544) for superstitions regarding the eating of fish:

παράδειγμα τοὺς Σύρους λαβέ.
ὅταν φάγωσ' ἰχθὺν ἐκεῖνοι, διά τινα
αὐτῶν ἀκρασίαν τοὺς πόδας καὶ γαστέρα
οἰδοῦσιν, ἔλαβον σακίον, εἶτ' εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν
ἐκάθισαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ κόπρου, καὶ τὴν θεὸν
ἐξιλάσαντο τῷ ταπεινοῦσθαι σφόδρα.[68]

[65] It is preserved by the scholiast in Pindar, *Pyth.* II 125, where the Phoenicians are called παλιγκάπηλοι.

[66] Hesych. *s.v.* Φοινικελίκτην καὶ λόγων ἀλαζόνα; Suid. Φοινικελίκτης. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 14, 288: δὴ τότε Φοῖνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ ἀπατήλια εἰδώς.

Anonym. 423 refers to the Πάταικοι, Phoenician dieties of dwarfish shape whose images were used on the prows of Phoenician ships, Hdt. III 37. Cf. Hesych. *s.v.* Πάταικοι.

[67] Athen. 130 e Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς . . . διαπαίζων. Cf. Eustath. 245, 24. Hdt. I 133 says that at a certain religious festival the wealthy Persians roasted whole animals in their ovens, the ox, the horse, the camel, and the ass. Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 85–87. Hieron. *Adversus Jov.* II 7 says that the Arabians, the Saracens, and all barbarians who dwell in deserts, live on the milk and flesh of camels.

Menander 24 and 503 refer to elegant wearing apparel, drinking goblets, etc. among the Persians.

[68] Cf. Meineke *Menandri et Philemonis Reliquiae* p. 44, who quotes Xen. *Anab.* I 4, 9: the Syrians regard fish as gods and do not permit any harm to come to them.

Timocles 4 corroborates the evidence of Menander. The *lari*, who are *piscium avidissimi*, according to Meineke III 592, are Syrians as compared with Hyperides, in the matter of eating fish, so much more ravenous is Hyperides.

OTHER BARBARIANS

Thrace: according to Menander 1127 the Thracians have no regard for an oath:

Θρᾷκες ὅρκι' οὐκ ἐπίστανται.[69]

They are satirized for *ἀκρασία* in respect to marriage in Menander 547, 48, where a man in Thrace who has but four or five wives is regarded as unmarried:

πάντες μὲν οἱ Θρᾷκες, μάλιστα δ' οἱ Γέται
ἡμεῖς ἁπάντων (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς εὔχομαι
ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι τὸ γένος) οὐ σφόδρ' ἐγκρατεῖς
ἐσμέν
γαμεῖ γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲ εἷς εἰ μὴ δέκ' ἢ
ἕνδεκα γυναῖκας, δώδεκ' ἢ πλείους τινές.
ἂν τέτταρας δ' ἢ πέντε γεγαμηκώς τις ᾖ,
καταστροφὴ γῆς, ἀνυμέναιος ἄθλιος,
ἄνυμφος οὗτος ἐπικαλεῖτ' ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ.[70]

Scythia: in Menander 533 the Scythian and the Ethiopian are mentioned as though they were usually held in contempt:

ὃς ἂν εὖ γεγονὼς ᾖ τῇ φύσει πρὸς τἀγαθά,
κἂν Αἰθίοψ ᾖ, μῆτερ, ἐστὶν εὐγενής.
Σκύθης τις· ὄλεθρος· ὁ δ' Ἀνάχαρσις οὐ Σκύθης;[71]

[69] On which Macarius IV 70 says: *ἐπὶ τῶν τοῖς ὅρκοις οὐκ ἐμμενόντων*; Diogen. V 25: *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνόμων*; so also Apostol. VIII 91 i. Cf. Zenob. IV 32; *Frag. Hist. Graec.* IV 204, 448. Mein. thinks that the historian Menander and not the comic poet is the author, *Menandri et Philemonis Reliquiae* p. 60.

[70] Sex. Empiricus *Hypot.* III 213 says that among the Thracians each man marries many wives. Heraclides *de Polit.* XXVIII says; *γαμεῖ ἕκαστος τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρας, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ ὡς θεραπαίναις χρῶνται. καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας οἱ γάμοι καὶ ἐκ περιόδου σύνεισιν αὐταῖς, καὶ λούει καὶ διακόνει.* Cf. Hdt. IV 104; V 6. Menander 828: Θρᾷξ *εὐγενὴς εἶ, πρὸς ἅλας ἠγορασμένος* is a hit at a particular Thracian who is salt-purchased, i.e. a slave, and hence scarcely *εὐγενής*. He is not attacked as a foreigner.

[71] For a like attitude toward Dacian and Ethiopian cf. Horace *Odes* III 6, 14. Antiph. 159 expresses approval of the Scythian method of bringing up children. Antiph. 56 says that the man who marries is unfortunate except among the Scythians.

Phrygia: the charge of cowardice[72] is insinuated against the Phrygians in Apollodorus 6:

> *οὐ πανταχοῦ Φρύξ εἰμι· τοῦ ζῆν ἢν ὁρῶ*
> *κρεῖττον τὸ μὴ ζῆν, χρήσομαι τῷ κρείττονι.*

Lydia: without qualification the Lydians are called *πονηροί*[73] in anonymous 387. The epithet *πολύχρυσοι* is given them in Nicolaus 1. Anonymous 720 reads: *Λυδὸς ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ*, to which ancient authorities ascribe a licentious meaning.[74]

Caria: in anonymous 387 the Lydians are called bad, the Egyptians worse, the Carians are said to be the most abominable of all men (*ἐξωλέστατοι*).[75]

Sardis: the people of Sardis are devoted to perfume, Alexis 68: *ἀεὶ φιλόμυρον πᾶν τὸ Σάρδεων γένος.*

Pontus:[76] plays entitled *Ποντικός* were written by Alexis, Antiphanes, Epigenes, and Timocles. Although almost nothing[77] survives of any of them, yet the existence of four plays by that name

[72] Tertullian *de Anima* 20 says: *comici Phrygas timidos inludunt.* Mein. (IV 653) suspects that the expression *δειλότερον δὲ λαγὼ Φρυγός*, preserved in Strabo I 36, is from comedy. Nicolaus 1 lines 10, 11 seems to be a hit at the same failing. Cf. Verg. *A.* xii 99; Eurip. *Alcestis* 675; *Orestes* 1447; Athen. 624 b ff.

[73] Apostol. X 100; Diogen. VI 24. Eustath. on *Dionys. Perieg.* 839 says that the Lydians are charged with *πονηρία*, from which fact arose the proverb *Λυδοὶ πονηροί*, etc. He says that all the Lydian women were given to vice.

[74] Photius says on *Λυδὸς ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ παίζει· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκολάστων ὡς ταύταις ταῖς ὥραις ἀκολασταινόντων.* Suid. says further: *οἱ γὰρ Λυδοὶ κωμῳδοῦνται ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν πληροῦντες τὰ ἀφροδίσια.* See the proverb collections of Apost. X 82; Greg. Cypr. *L.* II 63; Diogen. II 18; Plut. II 3; also Hesych. *s.v. Λυδὸς ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ παίζει.* A play entitled *Λυδός* was written by Antiph., a *Λυδοί* by Magnes.

The degeneracy of the Lydians is spoken of in Hdt. I 155 ff. and in Athen. 515 d ff. Athen. 690 b says: *διαβόητοι ἐπὶ ἡδυπαθείᾳ οἱ Λυδοί.* Cf. Eurip. *Alcestis* 675.

[75] Antiph. 113, in a play entitled *Κᾶρες*, makes fun of some celebrated philosopher for moving his hands in pantomimic gesture when expounding his philosophy. It is probably an attack upon him as a philosopher rather than as a foreigner if indeed he is a foreigner. Philemon 18 and anonym. 548 refer to the Carian as slave and not as foreigner. Anonym. 556 is not pertinent.

[76] The relations between Athens and Pontus had for a long time been intimate: cf. Ferguson *Hellenistic Athens* pp. 437 ff.; Reinach *Mithridate Eupator* p. 138.

[77] One fragment of each: Antiph. 192, Alexis 193, Epigenes 7, Timocles 28. As a context is lacking in each case, it is impossible to make inferences.

and the statements of other writers[78] that ridicule was made of the people from the Pontic coast, make it highly probable that the comedians had a part in it.[79]

ROMAN MATERIAL

Praeneste: Bacchides 12 makes fun of the boastfulness of the Praenestini: *Praenestinum opino esse, ita erat gloriosus.* Naevius *Ariolus* II makes fun of the food which the people of Praeneste and of Lanuvium eat:

Quis heri apud te?—Praenestini et Lanuvini hospites—
Suopte utrosque decuit acceptos cibo,
Altris inanem volvulam madidam dari,
Altris nuces in proclivi profundier.[80]

In 881–83 of the *Captivi* the parasite Ergasilus swears by five Italian cities, Praeneste, Cora, Signia, Frusino, Alatrium, all of them in Latium. *Quid tu per barbaricas*[81] *urbes iuras?* says Hegio. To which the parasite replies: *quia enim item asperae sunt ut tuom victum autumabas esse.*[82]

[78] Athen. 351 c: τοὺς δὲ Ποντικοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ ἥκειν πόντου, ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ὀλέθρου. Diog. Laert. VI. I 3 writes to this effect: when a youth from Pontus asked what he would need in order to attend lectures (presumably at Athens) he was told that he would need, among other things, a new mind.

[79] A large number of ethnic titles of Greek comedies such as Ποντικός has been handed down. For a list of them consult the index of plays Kock III pp. 689 ff. Of Latin plays which take their titles from Greek plays the *Andria* is certainly from Menander's Ἀνδρία, cf. *Andria* 9 ff.; the *Poenulus* takes its name from the Καρχηδόνιος, *Poen.* 53. Whether the latter is a play of Menander or not is uncertain, cf. Leo *Pl. Forsch.*[2] pp. 170 ff., Schanz *Gesch. der röm. Litteratur* 3rd ed. I p. 87. Among the fragments of Roman comedy also there is a number of ethnic titles, e.g. *Imbrii, Lemniae, Galli Transalpini.* For a full list see index of plays, Ribbeck *Comic. Rom. Frag.*[3] pp. 388 ff. The numerous plays with such titles would at least afford ample opportunity for making fun of the foreigner.

[80] Macrobius *Sat.* III 18, 5 says: *nux haec Abellana seu Praenestina . . . inde scilicet Praenestinae nuces,* after which he quotes this passage. On Praenestine nuts see Pliny *N.H.* XVII 13, 96; Cato *de Re Rustica* 51; Festus 172: *nuculas Praenestinos.*

[81] For Plautus' use of *barbaricus, barbarus* see *supra* p. 10.

[82] These thrusts, as well as those against the dialect of Praeneste, *Trin.* 609, *Truc.* 690, 91, would be popular at Rome in view of the refusal of the citizens of Praeneste, in 216 B.C., to exchange their own citizenship for that of Rome when the Romans made the offer, Livy XXIII 20, 2.

Campania: In *Trinummus* 545, 46 the Campanians far surpass the Syrians in patience,[83] though the latter are called in 542 the most patient of men. *Poenulus* 266 contains the word *alicarias*, on which word Festus p. 7 says: *meretrices appellabantur in Campania solitae ante pistrina alicariorum versari quaestus gratia, sicut hae, quae ante stabula sedebant, dicebantur prostibula.*

Apulia: Casina 71–77 is obviously from the Roman point of view, for Apulia and Carthage are there associated with Greece. The custom of having slave marriages on a more elaborate scale than those of citizens and propensity to drink are the objects of the attack. Apulia had become to a considerable extent Hellenized,[84] owing to the fact that there were Greek cities within its borders. This fact assists in the understanding of *Miles* 648: *post Ephesi sum natus, non enim in Apulis; non sum Animula.* Plautus uses *Animula* because it was *urbs parvarum opum in Apulia*, Festus p. 25. The point of the thrust appears from Ussing's note: *Ephesi se natum dicit, inter Graecos omni humanitate excultos, non inter Apulos rusticos.* While the sarcasm is, on the face of it, Greek, the indirect thrust from the Roman point of view is more significant.

Etruria: Cistellaria 562, 63 charges the Etruscans with an evil practice: *non enim hic ubi ex Tusco modo tute tibi indigne dotem quaeras corpore.*[85]

[83] The Syrians were noted for their endurance as litter carriers at Rome, Juv VI 351; Martial IX 2, 11; 22, 9. The Campanians had thrown in their lot with Hannibal after Cannae, but in 211 Capua was recovered, Livy XXVI 11. The severe punishment inflicted upon its people, Livy XXVI 13 ff., broke their spirits so that twenty years later when the *Trinummus* was exhibited (see Schanz *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* 3rd ed. I p. 92) they might be called a race of surpassing patience. Cf. Brix-Niemeyer on 545, 46.

[84] Cf. Mommsen *Rom. Hist.* II 89 ff., III 109; Brix-Niemeyer on *Miles* 648.

[85] Athenaeus 517 d ff. speaks at some length of the base customs of the Etruscans in this regard. *Cur.* 482: *in Tusco vico ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant* is merely a realistic Roman touch of the playwright, though it is an interesting coincidence that the street in Rome called *Tuscus* was known for the practices for which the Etruscans were notorious. Other hits at Italian towns are found in *Most.* 770 on Sarsina in Umbria, which was Plautus' birthplace; and *Capt.* 160 ff. on Pistoria, Placentum, the Turdetani (in southern Spain). All of them are word plays.

Massilia: Casina 963: *ubi tu es, qui colere mores Massilienses postulas*, must, from the context, be an attack upon the wantonness of the people of Massilia.[86]

Carthage: naturally the Carthaginians occupy the most prominent place among those who are foreigners from the Roman standpoint. Yet there is little which ascribes to them definite charactertistics. They are the well hated enemy of the Romans, whom the latter would like to see defeated and punished, in *Cistellaria* 202: *ut vobis victi Poeni poenas sufferant.*[87] *Poenus plane est, Poenulus* 113, has the same implication as *Punica fides*, the characteristic trait of the Carthaginians in Roman eyes.[88] *Bisulci lingua* in 1034 is a thrust at the treachery of the Carthaginians. Hanno's character as drawn by Plautus in the *Poenulus* does not appear in an unfavorable light, though he is treated with scorn by the soldier and with impudence by the slave before his identity is known.[89]

[86] In agreement with this are Athen. 523 c: Μασσαλιῶται ἐθηλύνθησαν· . . . . ἀσχημονοῦσι γοῦν διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς μ αλακίαν καὶ τρυφὴν γυναικοπαθοῦντες. ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία παρῆλθεν· πλεύσειας εἰς Μασσαλίαν; Suid. *s.v.* ἐκ Μασσαλίας ἥκεις; Plut. *Proverb.*I 60; Apostol. VI 69. On the other hand Strabo IV 181 praises their σωφροσύνη; likewise Val. Max. II 7. Brückner *Hist. Reipublicae Massiliensium* follows Strabo and Val. Max., apparently interpreting the passages in the *Cas.* as ironical. The wealth and commercial prosperity of Massilia at the time when Plautus wrote would lend favor to the former view. Ussing on *Cas.* 885, Legrand *Daos* p. 71 n. 10 take this view.

[87] This fixes the date of the composition of the *Cist.* as prior to the end of the second Punic war.

[88] Heinze *Vergils Epische Technique* p. 268 says: von den Tyrii bilingues fürchtet Venus Gefahr für Aeneas (I 661): das ist die römische konventionelle Auffassung der Karthager, für die freilich die Handlungsweise Didos und der Ihren keinerlei Bestätigung bringt. Legrand *Daos* p.71 n. 10 says that references to Carthage in Plautus are certainly the invention of the Roman poet.

[89] *Pultiphagus barbarus Most.* 828 is thought by most editors to refer to the Romans, as *barbarus* usually does in Plaut. This interpretation is strengthened by Pliny *N. H.* 18, 83: *pulte, non pane, vixisse longo tempore Romanos*; Varro *Ling. Lat.* V 105: *de victu antiquissima puls.* Lorenz, Sonnenschein, Ramsay, among editors, favor this view; also Duff *Literary History of Rome* p. 174. Ussing *ad loc.* believes it refers to Carthaginians, and compares pultiphagonides in Poen. 54. The uncertainty of the meaning in the latter passage causes difficulty. Cf. Lambinus, Ritschl, Ussing, Leo *ad loc.* In *Poen.* 524 *interfectis hostibus* is probably a reference to the defeat of the Carthaginians.

Among the fragments of Plaut. *incert.* XLIX contains the words *castrum Poenorum*; and *dubia et suspecta* XII contains the three names *Hannibalem,*

It may fairly be assumed, on the basis of the foregoing evidence, that so far as authentic material on contemporary history is available, the strictures of the Hellenistic comedians had some foundation in fact. Obviously there is much exaggeration; but a statement usually reflects, if not a fact, at any rate an attitude which is fairly well attested in extracomic literature. The validity of this conclusion is increased by the fact that the foreign powers to whom most frequent allusion is made in comedy, e.g. the Spartans, the Boeotians, the Egyptians, are the very ones regarding whom there is the most complete information from other sources in harmony with the references. The wide variety of satiric thrusts moreover tends to show that the playwright aimed at realistic representation of foreign character.

Most of the material has an unfavorable connotation, indicating a range in attitude from that of mild banter to that of the most severe contempt and even of real hostility. The latter is very rare, appearing perhaps in the thrusts at *Punica fides* in *Poenulus* 113 and 1034. Licentiousness among the Corinthians, gluttony among the Boeotians, animal worship in Egypt, frugality at Sparta, are repeated objects of satiric attack, the purpose of which could have been none other than to indulge the contemptuous feelings of an Athenian audience for such customs.

Residents of the city of Boston are known as bean-eaters to every school boy in America. Such an epithet possesses no particularly derogatory signification. It might be regarded as a convenient term to express the antithesis of dignity and culture which are usually thought of as characteristic of that city. Yet it is commonly used without thought of any significance which it formerly possessed. Literary tradition will doubtless preserve the expression for ages to come. Somewhat analogous to this among the Greeks is the "bald-headed Myconian" who recurs in literature all down the line. Other proverbial expressions, e.g., "the table of the Sybarites," "every man cannot sail to Corinth," "an Argive theft," "Laconian brevity," "the Arabian flute player that will not cease," were probably more or less literary, and suggested little if any real attitude. The bulk of such material is not large.

Hasdrubalem, Hamilcarem. Other references to foreigners from the Roman point of view occur in *Capt.* 888: *et nunc Siculus non est, Boius est. boiam terit,* a word play (cf. Herodas V 61 with Nairn's note); Dec. Lab. *Fullo* II; *Caeculi*; Titinius *incert.* XVIII a.

Aristotle in the *Poetics* 1449 a b advances the theory that comedy was an issue of early iambic poetry, both of them having a large satirical element.[90] The more plausible this theory is, the less significant, as a basis on which to judge attitudes, are the expressions preserved in comedy. They become mere literary commonplace. In Archilochus are to be found thrusts at unfortunate Thasos,[91] at the sensuality of the Thracian and Phrygian,[92] at the φιληδονία and ἀκρασία of a certain Corinthian,[93] at the strange customs of Massilia.[94] In like manner Hipponax satirizes the Phrygians,[95] Chios,[96] Lampsacus,[97] the Lydians.[98] The Mysians are the butt in Simonides.[99] Phocylides says that the Lerians are all knaves.[100] An early poet, probably Epimenides,[101] quoted with approval by St. Paul in Titus I 12, brands the Cretans as liars, vile beasts, idle gourmands. Xenarchus, a writer of mimes of the time of New Comedy, may be mentioned here. He satirized the people of Rhegium as cowards.[102] Much of the foregoing is distinctly analogous to the literary commonplace of comedy, and may, in a measure, support Aristotle's contention.[103]

[90] For a general study of the satirical element in Greek literature see Geffcken "Studien zur griechischen Satire" *Neue Jahrb. für das Klass. Alt.* 27 (1911) pp. 393 ff. and 469 ff.

[91] Bergk *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* II Archilochus 20, 52, 109.

[92] Bergk Archil. 32.

[93] Bergk Archil. 145.

[94] Bergk Archil. 148.

[95] Bergk Hipponax 46, 97.

[96] Bergk Hipponax 74.

[97] Bergk Hipponax 35.

[98] Bergk Hipponax 91.

[99] Bergk Simonides 35.

[100] Bergk Phocylides 1.

[101] For evidence as to the identity of the author quoted see Diels *Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker* 3rd ed. II pp. 188, 89.

[102] According to Photius *s.v.* Ῥηγίνους. Suid. *s.v.* Ῥηγίνους mentions a proverb Ῥηγίνου δειλότερος with the comment: ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δειλῶν. Cf. Hesych. *s.v.* Ῥηγῖνος.

[103] Bywater *Aristotle's Poetics* p. 144 comments as follows: "The 'iambic form' of Comedy is the Old Comedy, which, from the personal nature of its satire, was only one remove from the 'invective' of Archilochus and the Iambographers."

On the other hand a world of fervent feeling found vent in invective against the Germans as barbarians during the recent war. The attitude was induced by contemporary events, and is quite distinct from such allusions as that to the Bostonian. In like manner Hellenistic comedy abundantly reflects the genuine feelings of Athens, whether of unfriendliness or of contempt and proud superiority, partly due to her hostile relations with other Greek states and barbarian powers, and partly to an entirely legitimate sense of her superior civilization. We must, of course, continually remind ourselves that the Greek evidence consists solely of fragments. The relative amount of literary and commonplace allusion to the foreigner, on the one hand, and of significant material reflecting genuine attitude, on the other, may misrepresent the truth. Moreover it is not unlikely that the Roman adaptations failed to preserve fully this element of their Greek originals, since much of it would be of no special interest to the Romans. Where an active rôle does occur in a Roman play as Hanno in the *Poenulus*—a rôle which, as being Carthaginian, would interest the Romans even more than the Greeks—we have a far better opportunity to observe attitude than in isolated incidental references to racial vices in the Greek fragments.

CHAPTER IV

The Costume of the Foreigner in Hellenistic Comedy

While material relating to the dress of the foreigner is very meager in comedy of this period, it is sufficient to give some idea of the playwrights' intentions. Obviously only the use of individual foreigners in active rôles involves description of their costume, and for evidence of such characters we are dependent on the Roman plays. It is possible, however, to detect in some cases an intention to individualize, in external appearance, the foreigner as such, and it is interesting to observe such evidence as there may be of attempts to caricature particularly the non-Greek barbarian, and of a tendency to conventionalize the costume of the outsider as a traveller, if not as a foreigner.

In the *Pseudolus* the mock-foreigner Simia, the pseudo-Harpax, who counterfeits the *cacula militis* from Macedonia, is provided with *chlamys*, *machaera*, *petasus* (735), and *manuleata tunica* (738). He is *chlamydatus* (963, 1101, 1139, 1143). The genuine Harpax has the same features, *chlamys* (1184), *machaera* (1185), *petasus* (1186), with the exception of the long tunic. Collybiscus, the mock-foreigner in the *Poenulus*, is *chlamydatus* (620, 644). Hanno[1] in the same play is *avis . . . cum tunicis* (975); the main part of his attire is called the *tunicae longae* (1298) and the *tunicae demissiciae* (1303). In 1048 it is a matter of surprise that he does not wear the *zona*. Sagaristio, the mock-Persian in the *Persa*, is attired in the *tunica*, *zona*, *chlamys*, *causea* (155). The *virgo* in the same play wears the *tiara*[2] (463) and the *crepidula* (464). It is said of the sycophant in *Trinummus* 851: *fungino generest*: *capite se totum tegit*, by which Ussing understands that he wears the *petasus*, Brix-Niemeyer the *causea*, Lambinus the one or the other. There was not much difference

[1] On his costume see Miss Saunders *Costume in Roman Comedy* pp. 133, 34. This work discusses the costume of all the characters, both the stock-rôles and the unusual rôles, in Roman comedy.

[2] The Greek word for the same article occurs in Antiph. 36.

between them.[3] The *sagum* was worn by a Gaul, judging from the expression in Afranius, *Gallum sagatum*.[4]

Most of the articles above mentioned are obviously not confined to foreigners in actual life, but are articles of dress at Athens, if not in every-day life, at least worn on occasion. The *chlamys* was originally a Thessalian or Macedonian garment, afterwards the regular dress of the Athenian *ephebi*.[5] The *crepidula*, diminutive of *crepida*, was a kind of sandal, an essential part of the national costume of the Greeks, and at Rome regarded as foreign.[6] The *machaera* was a short sword.[7] The *zona*, as used in Plautus, was a money belt.[8] The *petasus* was a hat with a broad brim, of Thessalian or Macedonian origin, like the *chlamys*, commonly worn by the *ephebi*.[9] It was worn on journeys and differed little from the *causea*.[10] The *causea* had a somewhat higher crown than the *petasus* and was flat at the top.[11] It was used particularly by the Macedonians and the neighboring peoples, being a feature of the national costume of the Macedonians.[12] The *tiara* was an Oriental head-dress, known to the Greeks as Persian.[13] The long-sleeved tunic (*manuleata*), and the tunic reaching to the ankles (*demissae*, *demissiciae*), are regularly regarded

[3] Hermann *Lehrbuch der griech. Privatalterthümer* revised by Blümner, p. 180.

[4] Afranius 283. It was an original Gallic garment, see Blümner *Die römische Privataltertümer* pp. 216 ff.

[5] Hermann-Blümner *Privatalterthümer* pp. 177, 78. See also Darem. et Sag. Dict. des Ant. *s.v. chlamys*; Becker *Charicles* vol. III p. 219; Pauly-Wissowa *Realenc. s.v.* χλαμύς.

[6] Pottier in Darem. et Sag. *s.v. crepida*; Becker *Gallus* III 228. Cf. Hermann-Blümner *Privatalterthümer* p. 180; Blümner *Die römische Privataltertümer* p. 223.

[7] Saglio in Darem. et Sag. *s.v. machaera*.

[8] Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie s.v. zona*, p. 2883.

[9] Becker *Charicles* III 263. Hesych. says: *πέτασος, τὸ τῶν ἐφήβων φόρημα.* Cf. also Pollux X 264.

[10] Hermann-Blümner *Privatalt.* p. 180. Pierre Paris in Dar. et Sag. *s.v. petasus* says that the Greeks were not accustomed to wear anything on their heads except when going on a journey or when exposed to the heat of the sun; though the lower classes made more general use of protection for their heads.

[11] Becker *Charicles* III 264.

[12] Leon Heuzey in Dar. et Sag. *s.v. causia*. Pollux X 162 says: *ἡ δὲ καυσία πῖλος, Μακεδονικὸς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ, ὡς τιάρα Περσικός.*

[13] Smith *Dict. Antiq. s.v. tiara* gives the evidence for its being Persian. Pauly's *Real-Ency. s.v. tiara* calls it an Oriental head-dress.

as effeminate and as a sign of degeneracy.[14] The long tunic, while not characteristic of any single foreign nationality, appears in Roman comedy to be reserved for non-Greek barbarians.[15]

The costume of several foreigners who come from specific countries is described. Can the features be considered characteristic of the respective localities or does the dramatist not discriminate? Of the *chlamys*, *machaera*, and *petasus* in *Pseudolus* 735, and the *manuleata tunica* in 738, no one could be considered distinctive of Macedonia.

[14] On the χιτὼν χειριδωτός (of which *tunica manuleata* is a translation) Hermann-Blümner *Privatalt.* p. 173 says that as a rule the sleeves were worn short and were only worn long by the effeminate. See also *loc. cit.*, note 3. Cf. Blümner *Die römische Privataltertümer* p. 207.

Evidence of the Greek attitude toward the Greek garment is, of course, one thing, that of the Roman attitude toward the Roman garment quite another, though they appear to coincide. It is chiefly Roman evidence that is in point here.

The most important passage is found in Aulus Gellius VI (VII) 12: *tunicis uti virum prolixis ultra bracchia et usque in primores manus ac prope in digitos Romae atque in omni Latio indecorum fuit. Eas tunicas Graeco vocabulo nostri 'chiridotas' appellaverunt feminisque solis vestem longe lateque diffusam indecere existimaverunt ad ulnos cruraque adversus oculos protegenda . . . P. Africanus . . . P. Sulpicio Gallo homini delicato, inter pleraque alia, quae obiectabat, id quoque probro dedit, quod tunicis uteretur manus totas opperientibus.* He gives the words of Scipio to Gallus, in which the long tunic appears in a highly unfavorable light. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 13, 31: *iste cum palleo purpureo talarique tunica versaretur in conviviis muliebribus*; *Cat.* II 10, 22: *manicatis et talaribus tunicis; in Clod. et Cur.* fragm. 22 *manicatam tunicam* ; Hor. *Sat.* I 2, 25: *Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat*; Prop. IV 2, 38: *mundus demissis institor in tunicis;* Suet. *Calig.* 52: *manuleatus et armilatus in publicum processit; Calig.* 54: *tunica talari prosiluit; Caes.* 45: *lato clavo ad manus fimbriato,* of which, however, the text has been questioned; *Aug.* 94, 10: *tunica . . . ex utraque parte ad pedes decidit;* Verg. *Aen.* IX 616: *et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae;* in all of which cases the garment is a sign of effeminacy. St. Augustine *de doctr.* III 2, 20 says: *talares et manicatas habere apud Romanos veteres flagitium erat; nunc autem honesto loco natis cum tunicati sunt non eas habere flagitium est.* Both Aulus Gellius VI (VII) 12 and Non. Marc. 536 M. quote Ennius *Ann.* 234 (Müller) as having mentioned the *tunicata iuventus* of the Carthaginians not without reproach. This is significant in connection with the tunic of Hanno in the *Poen.*

[15] A fragm. of Afranius 133, 34, is as follows: *Meretrix cum veste longa? — Peregrino in loco / Solent tutandi causa sese sumere;* and Varro *Sat.* 302, Buecheler—Heraeus, reads: *cum etiam Thais Menandri tunicam demissam habeat ad talos.* Yet Nonius 541, 10 says: *meretrices apud veteres subcinctiore veste utebantur.* It would appear that usually the courtesan was a foreigner, in which case she wore the long tunic.

Though Pseudolus recognizes Harpax as Macedonian (*videre inde esse* 622) he does so from the fact that Harpax was a stranger and was making for Ballio's house at the time when a Macedonian was expected rather than because of his Macedonian dress, as is implied in 622, 23, *haec dies praestitutast.* Collybiscus, the mock-foreigner in the *Poenulus*, is *chlamydatus*; Charinus in the *Mercator* about to set out on a journey has need of the *chlamys* (912, 921). It is a customary garment of the traveller. It is worn by Menaechmus of Epidamnus in *Menaechmi* 658. The soldier, who is called a Rhodian in *Epidicus* 300, wears a *chlamys* in 436. The *machaera* is a common equipment of the soldier (*Miles* 459, *Curculio* 574). The *petasus* is not mentioned elsewhere in Plautus except in the *Amphitruo* (143, 145, 443), being worn by the slave Sosia and by Mercury, his double, in the rôle of messenger. The long tunic appears conspicuously in the *Poenulus* (1298, 1303). Thus none of the four articles mentioned are specifically Macedonian. Only one garment, the long tunic, is mentioned in connection with the Carthaginian Hanno in the *Poenulus*, and it is seen from the previous discussion that it is not distinctively Punic.[16] No article is mentioned in the sycophant's costume in the *Trinummus*, but 858 perhaps justifies the inference that he had on the *causea*, since he is called Illyrian (852); the Illyrians lived near Macedonia, where the *causea* was a part of the national costume. But even this is a feature of the sailor's costume in *Miles* 1178 and of the mock-Persian's in *Persa* 155. No reason is indicated why Charmides should recognize the sycophant as Illyrian. The mock-Persian in *Persa* 155 wears the *chlamys* and *causea*, which have already been discussed. He also has the tunic, which is one of the most distinctive parts of Greek dress, and the *zona*. In *Mercator* 925 Charinus removes his *zona* when he decides not to go abroad; in *Poenulus* 1008 Milphio calls attention to the fact that Hanno has come to Calydon without his *zona*; the procurer Cappadox wears a *zona* in *Curculio* 220. Hence it cannot be a distinctively Persian feature. In the costume of the

[16] Ussing says, however: *tunicis autem longis quidem* (v. 1301), *sine pallio utebantur Carthaginienses.* He appears to base his opinion on the passage in the *Poen.*, which does not warrant such a conclusion. Knapp *Class. Phil.* II 297 says that Hanno's costume is manifestly distinctive, that it is recognized at once as Punic by Milphio and Agorastocles (977) and as African by the *miles* (1304). Legrand *Daos* p. 69 says that Hanno is distinguished first by his complexion and his costume, then by his talk.

mock-Persian *virgo* (*Persa* 463, 64) we find two articles not mentioned elsewhere, the *crepidula* and the *tiara*. The former, as has been said above, was a part of the national Greek dress, though it was foreign to the Romans. The latter was strictly Oriental in Greek eyes. Nothing specific is said of the *ornamenta* mentioned in *Curculio* 464, which were obtained from the *choragus* by the parasite to fit him out as a *cacula militis* of Caria. A Gaul is clad in a *sagum* in Afranius *Prosa* II, l. 283.[17] But the *sagum* was the customary military cloak at Rome. It could not have been characteristic of the Gauls. From the foregoing discussion it is seen that the only feature peculiar to a specific locality is the Persian *tiara*.[18]

There is a number of passages in which foreign dress is suggested without reference to particular locality. In *Epidicus* 533 Periphanes says: *quis illaec est mulier . . . peregre adveniens*. As Knapp remarks,[19] the woman had said nothing to indicate that she was a *peregrina*. Could he tell from her dress? In *Persa* 157 Sagaristio is to take a part *quasi sit peregrinus*. The *virgo* is to be adorned *in peregrinum modum* (158). *Poenulus* 175 reads: *dicatque se peregrinum esse ex alio oppido*; and 600: *sed ita adsimulatote quasi ego sim peregrinus; Trinummus* 766: *quasi sit peregrinus;* 767: *is homo exornetur graphice in peregrinum modum;* 841: *cum novo ornatu specieque*, where *novo* means strange to the speaker, i.e. foreign. The very fact that Plautus introduces natives as mock-foreigners supports the notion that natives and foreigners were recognized by their difference in costume, as well as that foreigners were not to any extent discriminated one from another. *Ignota facies* in *Trinummus* 768 would indicate that it was necessary only for the impostor to be unknown, not that he have different physical features. As masks were not used in Plautus' day, costume alone would mark him. When it is further considered that no features of dress belong exclusively to the particular nationality to whom they are assigned, with the exception of the *tiara* of the Persian *virgo*, the conclusion of the above discussion

[17] Ribbeck *Com. Rom. Fragmenta*.[3]

[18] Yet Ussing has both Sagaristio and the *virgo* attired in the Persian fashion, commentary on *Persa* 461: *exit Sagaristio Persarum in modum ornatus cum puella non minus peregrino more vestita*. But, except for the *tiara* of the maiden, there is no justification for the statement in the description of their costume.

[19] *Class. Phil.* II 297, 98.

is that *modus peregrinus* refers to dress and that the latter is to a large extent conventionalized.

It has been seen that the *miles*, the *mercator*, and others who travel, in the main wear the same garments as does the foreigner. Though there is considerable evidence in Plautus and Terence of travel for some specific purpose, business, war, etc., there is little indication that travel *causa animi* was common.[20] A *miles* was thought of as a mercenary soldier, not as a traveller; a *mercator* was associated with his business. The traveller per se had no independent existence, at least in the minds of the comedians. No Greek or Latin word was in use during Hellenistic times for traveller in the modern sense. It would appear then that the conception of foreigner in New Comedy in large measure embraced that of traveller. This would explain why the foreigner's costume and that of the traveller mainly coincide.

Further evidence for the conventionality of foreign dress is found in the passages relating to the *choragus*.[21] *Trinummus* 765–67 is as follows: *homo conducatur aliquis / quasi sit peregrinus . . . is homo exornetur graphice in peregrinum modum.* In 840 he is described as *cum novo ornatu specieque*; and in 851, 52 he appears to be of the Illyrian variety in his hired costume. Finally in 858 he states that the *ornamenta* have come from the *choragus*. In *Pseudolus* 964 Simia, the pseudo-Harpax, is said to look like a foreigner (*peregrina facies*). In 1184–86 Ballio and Simio ask the genuine Harpax for how much he had rented the *chlamys*, *machaera*, and *petasus*. The passage is as much to the point as though the questions had been directed to the pseudo-Harpax. In Persa 154–57 Saturio is instructed to obtain *tunica*, *zona*, *chlamys*, and *causea*, *quasi sit peregrinus*, and to equip his daughter *in peregrinum modum* (158). When he asks where the equipment can be obtained the answer is 159, 60: *aps chorago sumito*; */ dare debet: praebenda aediles locaverunt.* The *choragus* says in *Curculio* 464: *ornamenta quae locavi metuo ut possim recipere.* These passages prove conclusively not only that foreign dress was an acknowledged part of the stage wardrobe, but that all foreigners received practically the same dress.

[20] Knapp *Class. Phil.* II pp. 1–24, 281–304 gives a full discussion of the evidence in Roman comedy for travel in ancient times.

[21] *Capt.* 61 mentions the *comicum choragium.* On the function of the *choragus* at Rome see Pauly-Wissowa and Darem. et Sag. *s.v. choragus.*

Finally, how far did the playwright use costume as a medium for satirizing or ridiculing the foreigner? There is a significant passage in Menander, fragment 439, which, so far as the *ξένος* is concerned, is borne out by our other evidence on this point:

> *εὐλοιδόρητον, ὡς ἔοικε, φαίνεται*
> *τὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου σχῆμα καὶ τὸ ξένου.*

Of genuine hostility there seems to be none. A feeling of scorn and contempt is indicated in the *Pseudolus* toward the Macedonian, where Simia counterfeits the rôle of the Macedonian soldier's servant. The *tunica manuleata*, which has been shown to be a sign of effeminacy,[22] is said to be a proper garment for him (738); and Ballio says of him in 964: *peregrina facies videtur hominis atque ignobilis*. Precisely the same attitude is found in *Poenulus* 975–77: *quae illaec avis est quae huc cum tunicis advenit? / Numnam in balineis circumductust pallio? / facies quidem edepol Punicast, guggast homo.* The significance of *gugga* is doubtful, but the context would imply that it is used in further derision of Hanno's appearance. In 1298 he is called *homo cum tunicis longis*, in 1303 *genus hoc mulierumst tunicis demissiciis*.[23] The feeling would be the stronger in view of the relations existing at the time the play was written between Rome and Carthage. In *Trinummus* 851, 52 the mock-foreigner is satirized on account of his headgear: *pol hicquidem fungino generest: capite se totum tegit. Hilurica facies videtur hominis.* In 841 he is *cum novo ornatu specieque.* The large high crowned *tiara* which covered the ears of the *virgo* in the *Persa* (463) must have been a source of amusement to the audience.[24]

[22] Antiph. 91 satirizes the Ionians for wearing soft garments; 117 the Laconians for wearing *πορφυροῦς*. Kock thinks that perhaps the poet intends to compare the present Laconians to women.

[23] The striking costume of the Persian in Aristoph. *Ach.* 63, 64 and the ridicule heaped upon him on account of it, bear a close analogy to the corresponding circumstances of Hanno in the *Poen.* These two passages are the most significant ones relating to the foreigner's dress in Aristophanes and Roman comedy respectively, and they should be studied together. In general Aristophanes has few allusions to costume, as has been indicated on p. 27.

[24] There is no internal evidence as to the costume of foreigners in Terence. The Terentian Miniatures, which, in any case, would give dubious evidence, show nothing to be noted in the dress of the foreigner except the unusual head dress of the courtesan Thais and of the *miles* in the *Eunuchus*. It is unlikely that the peculiarity is in any way distinctive of them as foreigners.

CHAPTER V

The Dialect of the Foreigner in Aristophanes and in Hellenistic Comedy

The comic poets of Greece and Rome represent various foreigners speaking in their own languages and dialects. My purpose is to determine what the actual usage was in this regard, i.e., what its extent was and how far it was realistic; whether comedy in its different periods varied in its usage; and finally, what were the purposes which the use of the foreign lingo served. A large part of the evidence on this point comes from Aristophanes.[1] The Greek fragments fail, with slight exceptions, to provide a context for the use of foreign words, and hence are of little value. Plautus and Terence contribute nothing except one Carthaginian passage and two hits at the vernacular of an Italian town. Clearly the Latin adaptations could not successfully reproduce this aspect of the Greek originals. Our available evidence, therefore, for the Hellenistic period is defective, and probably only faintly suggests the actual conditions.

Laconian: Spartan characters are prominent in the *Lysistrata*, and the Laconian dialect is used extensively there. (1) The Spartan girl Lampito speaks at intervals between 81 and 240; (2) the Spartan herald has an active part between 980 and 1013; (3) one of the Spartan ambassadors, acting as spokesman for the body, takes a rather small part between 1076 and 1188; (4) a Laconian sings two songs between 1242 and 1301 (end). One verse of Laconian occurs in *Peace* 214, in the speech of Hermes, where he tells what the Laconians would say whenever they gained some slight success in the war. In Athenaeus 621 d e it is said that among the Laconians there was an ancient type of sport in which two characters were impersonated by the δικηλισταί. One of them was the ξενικὸς ἰατρός. He then quotes

[1] For the fullest discussion of the non-Attic Greek dialects in Aristoph., the Megarian, the Laconian, the Boeotian, and the Ionic, see Elliott *Acharnians* (1914) excursus III pp. 207–241.

a fragment of Alexis (142) as the words of the foreign doctor, in which the Doric dialect of the *medicus* is an object of ridicule.[2]

Boeotian: Aristophanes makes use of the Boeotian dialect in *Acharnians* 860–958, where a Boeotian, who has come to market at Athens, takes a leading part. Eubulus 12 (see chap. on Mental and Moral Characteristics p. 31) was spoken by a Boeotian according to Eustath. 954,33. On the word *ψώσματα*, Aristonymus 9, which is unknown to Attic usage, Hesychius says: *παρὰ Ἀριστωνύμῳ πέπαικται ἡ λέξις τῇ Βοιωτῶν διαλέκτῳ.* Anonymous 667 reads *βοιωτιάζειν ἔμαθες.* It is likely, from the meaning of the main verb, that the infinitive means 'to speak Boeotian' rather than 'to play the Boeotian.'[3]

Megarian: The Megarian dialect is used only in *Acharnians* 729–835.

Ionic: in *Peace* 46–48 an Ionian is represented as speaking in his own dialect. In 930 of the same play the form *ὁί* is made fun of as being Ionic. It is generally admitted that the Ionism consists in the word's being dissyllabic.[4]

Regarding barbarians there is no clear case of the use of their native tongues in Greek comedy. The verse pronounced by Pseudartabas; *Acharnians* 100, *ἰαρταμὰν ἔξαρξ' ἀναπισσόναι σάτρα,* which is intended to be taken as Persian, comes the nearest to it. Commentators in general consider it nonsense;[5] yet the first two words contribute

[2] Von Salis *De Doriensium Ludorum in Comoedia Attica Vestigiis* p. 22 says of the passage: *poeta medicis alludit qui alieno utuntur sermone ideoque aegris credulioribus admirationem sui ac profundae scientiae suae inicere solent.* He adds immediately: *iam vero Cratetem videmus comoediae antiquae poetam medicum inducere, qui artificia sua invalido cuidam commendare videtur dorice loquens:* frag. 41 *ἀλλὰ σικύαν ποτιβαλῶ τοι, καναταλὴς ἀποσχάσω.* Thus Meineke and Kock think. The fact that Aristotle *Poetics* 1449 b brings Crates into connection with Epicharmus and Doric comedy would favor the opinion of von Salis. But the point has not been proved.

Laconian and other Doric forms are found among the fragm. as follows: anonym. 1372; Hermippus 80, 96; Eupolis 138, 444; Telecleides 57; Aristoph. 769; Epicrates 9.

[3] Aristoph. fr. 726 is *ὁ πίττομαι,* on which Photius says *τοῦτο Βοιώτιον.*

[4] For other Ionic forms see Aristoph. 450, 934; Ameipsias 18; Eupolis 426.

[5] V. Leeuwen *ad loc.* says: *verba vere persica inde efficere inque integram sententiam coniungere velle, id cum ratione insanire est profecto.* Starkie, however, dissents from the common opinion: "elsewhere (*Av.* 1678 *sq.*, *Thesm.* 1082 *sq.*) in the case of barbarians, Aristoph. supplies them with vulgar and ungrammatical Greek, which is easily intelligible, and indeed probably differed little from the

the parts of Ἀρταξέρξης, and the last is near to σατράπης, which would make it sound to the average hearer like Persian. Starkie says (on *Ach.* 100) that Persian was as familiar to the Athenian at this time as French was to the Englishman in the time of Elizabeth. The sham-Persian resorts, however, to vulgar Greek[6] in 104.

In many instances foreigners are not differentiated as members of a particular race, but are merely marked as ξένοι or βάρβαροι, or as talking like barbarians. *Birds* 199, 200 says: ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτούς, βαρβάρους ὄντας πρὸ τοῦ / ἐδίδαξα τὴν φωνήν, ξυνὼν πολὺν χρόνον. The natural inference is that Greeks did not think of barbarians as possessing the use of human language.[7] *Frogs* 679 χείλεσιν ἀμφιλάλοις refers to talk that is half Greek, half barbarian. *Frogs* 682, 83 Θρηκία χελιδὼν ἐπὶ βάρβαρον ἐζομένη πέταλον· / ῥύζει δ' ἐπίκλαυτον ἀηδόνιον νόμον, compares by implication the speech of barbarians to the sounds of a swallow.[8] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι θεοὶ / πτεινῶντες ὥσπερ Ἰλλυριοὶ κεκριγότες, *Birds* 1520, 21, assigns another inarticulate sound to barbarian speech.[9] Hyperbolus is ridiculed as a barbarian on account of his pronunciation, Plato 168. He did not talk Attic Greek, οὐ γὰρ

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dialect heard in Athenian streets, in the mouths of slaves and uneducated people; but nowhere with mere gibberish, as commentators believe the present line to be." Cf. Starkie *Ach.* excursus III, where he maintains that the line is perfect Old Persian. V. Leeuwen regards the first word of the Triballian god, ναβαισατρεῦ, *Birds* 1615, as *inanis vox*, rather than in the Triballian tongue, since there would be no one at Athens who would understand Triballian. Cf. Suidas *s.v.* βαβακατρεῦ. A third possibility would be vulgar Greek, and it is so understood by some scholars.

[6] The Triballian god, *Birds* 1628, 1678 ff., and the Scythian τοξότης, *Thesm.* 1001–1228 (end), obviously talk vulgar Greek, with no suggestion of their native tongues. There is a difference between them in that the Triballian is strictly a foreigner, while the Scythian policeman was a recognized feature of Athenian life and was not thought of as so clearly a foreigner. A fairly close analogy would be our Irish policeman, with his brogue, who passes as one type of American.

[7] Cf. Soph. *Antigone* 1001, 1002: ἀγνῶτ' ἀκούω φθόγγον ὀρνίθων κακῷ κλάζοντας οἴστρῳ καὶ βεβαρβαρωμένῳ; Aesch. *Agam.* 1050. In Eurip. *Phoenissae* 679 and 1301 the expression βαρβάρῳ βοᾷ is used; in 819 βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν; also in Soph. *Ajax.* 1262.

[8] *Cf. Birds* 1681, 1293; *Frogs* 93 (with V. Leeuwen's note) and 681; Aesch. *Agam.* 1050.

[9] V. Leeuwen *ad loc.* understands κεκριγότες to be used of such a sound as that of birds or bats.

ἠττίκιζεν; for διητώμην and ὀλίγον he said δητώμην and ὀλίον.[10] Plato the comic poet says that he is a Lydian, according to the scholiast on Lucian *Timon* 30 Rabe's edition, p. 115.[11] On the word ψυγέα, Euphron 3 line 1, Athenaeus 503 a comments: τοὺς δ' Ἀττικοὺς καὶ κωμῳδεῖν τὸν ψυγέα ὡς ξενικὸν ὄνομα.[12]

In Roman comedy the most important passage is that in *Poenulus* 930–49. It continues at intervals up to 1027. It is generally regarded as belonging to the Punic tongue, one of the slight bits to survive the destruction of Punic civilization. It possesses no Latin elements.[13]

Two hits against the vernacular of Praeneste are found in Roman comedy, one in *Truculentus* 690, 91, where it is said that *conea* is the

[10] Herodianus II 926, 5: Πλάτων μέντοι ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ὑπερβόλῳ διέπαιξε τὴν ἄνευ τοῦ γ χρῆσιν ὡς βάρβαρον. Cf. *Etym. Magnum* 621, 51.

[11] Hermippus 11 καὶ τάριχος πίονα and 12 δοκικῶ are considered by Meineke and Kock to have been spoken by the mother of Hyperbolus, both indicating her foreign origin. Cf. Mein. *Hist. Crit.* p. 94.

[12] In Aristoph. 79 κεκράξονταί τι βαρβαριστί there is no intimation who is referred to. Other fragments of little or no value, because it is impossible to determine by whom they were spoken, are as follows: Antiph. 32 λείψας; Hermippus 66 ἀπεδημηκότες; Eupolis 441 σάξας; Euphron 3 line 2; Eupolis 287 κατακλιεῖ; Philippides 36 κοράσιον (on which see Photius 369, 26 *s.v.* παιδισκάριον.) Meineke and Kock speculate both on these and on most of the fragments previously mentioned, but their speculations appear to have little foundation.

In the *Oxyrhyn. Pap.* III pp. 44 ff. there is an interesting fragment of some length, of a farce, the scene of which is laid on the Indian coast. A barbarian king and several others talk in an unknown tongue, which Grenfell and Hunt *op. cit.* p. 43 regard as to a large extent imaginary, though they think it may include some non-Hellenic elements. Cf. their note on l. 83. The one first-hand critical study of this papyrus on the linguistic side is by Hultzsch "Zum Papyros 413 aus Oxyrhynchos" in *Hermes* 39 (1904) pp. 307–11. He thinks there is no doubt that the author of the piece was familiar with and employed the specific Indian dialect of Kanara. This passage would appear to be similar to the mock-Persian passage in *Ach.* 100. Crusius considers that the date of composition of the farce was somewhat earlier than the Roman period, though he does not regard it as a product of the better Hellenistic age.

[13] G. Hennen *De Hannonis in Poenulo Plautina Precationis quae fertur Recensione Altera Punica* (1882) names 69 titles of works running through the period of two and a half centuries up to 1873, which treat the Punic passage in the *Poenulus*. Cf. also Soltau "Zur Erklärung der in punischer Sprache gehaltenen Reden des Hanno" *Berl. Stud.* Band X (1889); J. Gildemeister in Goetz-Loewe's ed. of the *Poen.* pp. XV to XX; Ussing ed. of *Poen.* (in vol. IV part 2 pp. 336–41); Lindsay *Class. Review* (1898) p. 361 ff. on the matter of text.

word used in Praeneste for *ciconia* a stock; the other in *Trinummus* 609 where *tam modo* is used for *modo*.[14]

The extent of the use of foreign dialect may be inferred from the preceding statement of facts. It is considerable in Aristophanes, though the bulk of it appears in two plays, the *Lysistrata* and the *Acharnians*. The fragments of the Old Comedians, especially Hermippus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes, frequently contain dialect forms, whereas there are relatively few among the fragments of New Comedy. In Terence there are none; in Plautus the two hits at an Italian town are of pure Roman invention. The Punic passage will be discussed later. In general, we may say, the use of strange dialect was common in Old Comedy; in Hellenistic comedy it does not appear to be very common, though here the nature of the evidence is such that it is unsafe to generalize.

The question how far the poets strove for realism in the employment of foreign dialect is one which admits of only approximate solution. Not only must the manuscripts (in the case of Aristophanes) be taken into account, and the evidence of Athenaeus, Hesychius, Suidas, Photius, and the other writers who quote Aristophanes, but also the extant inscriptions of the specific localities represented. As yet no study has appeared which has thoroughly established, on scientific principles, whether Aristophanes aimed at exact reproduction of the dialects of Sparta, Megara, and Boeotia when he introduced characters from those places in the *Lysistrata* and the *Acharnians*.[15] It is highly probable, on a priori grounds, that Aristo-

[14] Festus (Lindsay p. 492) says: *tammodo antiqui ponebant pro modo.* In Ribbeck *Com. Rom. Fragm.*[3] Titinius l. 104 is found the following verse: *Qui Obsce et Volsce fabulantur: nam Latine nesciunt.* But the context is lacking and the subject of *fabulantur* cannot be known.

[15] Elliott *Ach.* excursus III pp. 216–40 takes up in detail the three non-Attic dialects. He concludes that in the case of the Megarian Aristoph. was as a rule correct, but that he has used not a few incorrect forms, chiefly for metrical purposes, but partly apparently through ignorance; and that when he had to choose between a Meg. form and a joke he chose the latter, without allowing it to trouble him, even though he knew better. Elliott considers the Boeotian dialect to be used with less accuracy than the Meg., partly due perhaps to the greater contempt he felt for the Boetian rustics, which led him to take less pains with their dialect. The Laconian is treated with more care, in Elliott's opinion, than either of the others, for the reason that it formed a larger element in the *Lysistrata* than did Meg. or Boeotian in the *Ach.* Cf. on this dialect problem V. Leeuwen's notes on *Thesm.* 1001, on the lingo of the Scythian.

phanes did not write the pure dialects of Sparta, Megara, and Boeotia, when he introduced characters from those places in the *Lysistrata* and the *Acharnians*.[16] He doubtless could have obtained accurate information regarding the details of a given dialect had he taken the trouble to do so. Though the textual question will not be taken up, it is in order to say that the manuscripts are in harmony with the above general notion of what we should expect Aristophanes to write; and an extensive amount of emendation, even where the readings conform to metrical rules, would be necessary in order to make the dialects pure. We have seen that in Hellenistic comedy dialect does not appear to have been used frequently in the case of a foreigner.[17] It may be said, on the other hand, that Aristophanes put into the mouths of the foreigners in his plays a lingo which sounded non-Attic to his audience, and which was intended to convey to the Athenians the impression that the foreigners spoke their own languages or dialects.

What was the purpose of the dramatists in employing the device of strange dialect? There is no trace of downright animosity. Contempt, ridicule, and a sense of the superiority of the Attic dialect appear. The condescending attitude is plain in the Boeotian and Megarian scenes in the *Acharnians*. The Athenian feeling of superiority over the Thessalian in the language he speaks is shown in Posidippus 28, where a Thessalian resents the presumption of an

[16] Elliott *Ach.* excursus III pp. 213–16 gives an excellent discussion, successfully refuting the fundamental assumption of some editors that Aristoph. must have written the pure dialects. Blaydes works on that assumption, and Schneider, *De dialecto Megarica* p. 18, states the general principle that Aristoph. could not have palmed off a mixture as Megarian upon the Athenians, as the latter had continuous association with the Megarians. Elliott *loc. cit.* illustrates at length from modern writers the fact that dialect is not faithfully reproduced. He quotes from George Eliot: "It must be borne in mind that my inclination to be as close as I could to the rendering of dialect both in words and spelling was constantly checked by the artistic duty of being generally intelligible." Cf. Rogers Introd. to *Ach.* pp. xlvi, xlvii; Commentary 115; Commentary on *Lys.* 12, 13.

[17] Legrand *Daos* p. 327 says that there is more realism in the language of New Comedy than in that of the preceding age. But, so far as our evidence goes, this is untrue of the language of the foreigner, since the playwright in the latter period rarely has a foreigner talk his own language or dialect.

Athenian that his Greek is the standard.[18] Hesychius remarks on *ψώσματα*, Aristonymus 9, that the Boeotian dialect was made fun of. Hyperbolus was satirized as a barbarian for his pronunciation in Plato 168. There is contempt in the use of such a word as *κεκριγότες*, *Birds* 1521, referring to human speech among the Illyrians; in teaching the barbarians language, *Birds* 199, 200; and in comparing their talk to the sounds of birds, *Frogs* 682, 83. The nonsense *ναβαισατρεῦ* in *Birds* 1615 makes the Triballian god ridiculous. The same thing may be said of the mock-Persian in the *Acharnians* when he speaks in line 100. The most frequent and obvious purpose is to get a humorous take-off on the foreigner, Greek or barbarian, to raise a laugh at his expense. In some cases, however, the attitude of the poet seems to be even favorable and sympathetic, as in the Spartan passages in the *Lysistrata*. Aristophanes, who strongly favored peace, could not be otherwise minded toward Lampito, who speaks in 81 ff., the Spartan herald 980 ff., the Spartan ambassador 1076 ff., and the Laconian who sings 1242 ff. For they were all on the side of peace. Yet their talk was no doubt intended to be amusing to the audience. The lines spoken by a chance Ionian at the theatre in Athens, *Peace* 47, 48, are primarily for humorous effect.

The two references to Praeneste in *Truculentus* 690, 91 and *Trinummus* 609 serve the purpose of delighting the audience with satirical thrusts at the dialect usage of a town of which Rome held no high opinion.[19] It is more difficult to account for a passage like the talk of Hanno in the *Poenulus*. It is highly improbable that at Rome there was sufficient knowledge of the Punic language[20] to make it possible for the hearers to understand a passage, even to a small extent, when there was no admixture of Latin words. The only thing in any way similar to it is the speech of the mock-Persian in *Achar-*

[18] *Ἑλλὰς μέν ἐστι μία, πόλεις δὲ πλείονες· σὺ μὲν ἀττικίζεις, ἡνίκ' ἂν φωνὴν λέγῃς αὐτοῦ τινές, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἑλληνίζομεν. τί προσδιατρίβων συλλαβαῖς καὶ γράμμασιν τὴν εὐτραπελίαν εἰς ἀηδίαν ἄγεις;* The fragment is preserved in Dicaearchus 3, 7 in C. Mueller *Geogr. min.* I p. 109.

[19] Cf. *supra* p. 48 n. 82.

[20] Pliny *N. H.* XVIII 5 speaks of a certain Carthaginian Mago, who was held in such honor by the Roman senate that it decided to have 28 volumes of his library translated into Latin, and to have the task assigned to those who were acquainted with the Punic tongue. The inference would be that no large number were so acquainted.

nians 100, which, as has been said, probably sounded like Persian to the audience. The close intercourse of Carthage and Rome during the first and second Punic wars renders it likely that the hearers would appreciate from the sound of the words the language to which they belonged. In that case the effect would be the same as that of the mock-Persian's speech. Other circumstances of the two episodes are strikingly analogous: both Hanno and the mock-Persian are at first purposely misunderstood by another character, in an effort to deceive the rest; and both soon resort to the language of the people among whom they have come. It is indeed not unlikely that the suggestion for the use of foreign language in the *Poenulus* came to the author from the Persian passage in the *Acharnians*.[21]

To sum up, dialect was a tool of the comic poets, in fairly general usage in Old Comedy, more sparingly used, as far as our scanty evidence shows, in the later period; it was employed for the purposes of ridicule, contempt, satire, without any real hostility, and particularly for producing humorous effects.[22]

[21] Some scholars regard the passage as post-Plautine. See Ussing's note vol. IV, part 2, pp. 336, 37. This would suggest that succeeding generations were amused by the use of foreign dialect on the stage, and that managers of later productions may have been influenced by that to extend the Punic.

[22] Since the above was printed, an article "Das Attische im Munde von Ausländern bei Aristophanes" by J. Friedrich has appeared in *Philologus* 75 (1918) pp. 274 ff.

CHAPTER VI

The Foreigner in the Technique of Hellenistic Comedy

Old and New Comedy are quite distinct in character, and that fact largely accounts for the difference in the treatment of foreigners in the comedy of the two periods.[1] Aristophanes' plays are incoherent and almost wholly lacking in plot; they have room for foreigners as active rôles at most only in single episodes. Hellenistic comedy, on the other hand, is characterized by a closely organized plot, wherein a foreigner may take the leading part.[2] In the *Poenulus* e.g. the main characters of the major plot are all foreigners, and one of the main characters of the minor plot is a mock foreigner. It is literally a play of foreigners. It will be found that when the economy of the plot requires a foreigner the demand usually will be satisfied by a Greek alien, as well as by a non-Greek barbarian. This is due to the fact that each Greek state was a unit independent of others. Inter-relations were not extensive and communication was not very rapid. Had the characters in the *Poenulus* been from Cyrene or from Syracuse they would have served their main purpose as well as if they came from Carthage. The foreigner, therefore, appears as purely a matter of dramatic convenience.

We shall endeavor here to show that the playwrights were compelled by the exigencies of the plot to use foreigners in certain situations rather than natives. In Greek New Comedy there occurs a number of conventional themes, to which the poets found themselves limited. Among these are the imposter or mock foreigner motif and the theme in which a recognition scene is the solution of the plot. With regard to the first an outsider is essential to its elaboration, since, in a city the size of Athens, a native would be too well

[1] See *supra* chap. II p. 27.

[2] It must be kept in mind, of course, that for the study of dramatic technique we are dependent almost entirely upon the Latin plays; and while we can be reasonably certain that they preserve the general character of the plays of Greek New Comedy, we must admit the possibility of Roman adaptation, which in the case of the foreigner cannot easily be recognized.

known plausibly to pass as a stranger. And, so far as Roman comedy is concerned, masks were not worn in the time of Plautus and Terence, so that the success of the imposture would depend entirely on the unfamiliar appearance of the impostor. The second appears with variations. There is the seduction theme (in which the dramatist has the action of his play begin many years after the seduction occurred). Then there is the lost-relative theme, in several forms, each of which regularly issues in *anagnorisis*. E.g. in the variety of the theme in which a child is kidnapped the kidnappers could not reasonably sell the child in a town near its home, for a long separation would then be improbable. Whether the plot hinges on seduction or on the loss of a child by kidnapping or exposure, the dénouement must be effected usually by an outsider, for only such a character can, late in the action, plausibly identify the person who has been lost, kidnapped, or seduced.

The impostor appears in five plays, in three of which, the *Persa*, the *Pseudolus*, and the *Asinaria*, the issue of the imposture is the primary interest; in the other two, the *Trinummus* and the *Poenulus*, it is only subordinate to the major plot.

Plautus introduces the impostor into but one scene of the *Trinummus*, act IV, scene 2. In lines 729 ff. a statement of the situation is made: Lesbonicus must not be apprised of the whereabouts of the treasure, yet a dowry must be provided for his sister. Lysiteles may change his mind about marrying her, and it would be very unfortunate to lose so excellent a match. Though Lysiteles may properly offer to marry the girl without a dowry, the playwright may not allow her brother to break the binding social convention requiring a dowry. He therefore employs the impostor theme to initiate a solution of the difficulty: 765 ff.

homo conducatur aliquis iam, quantum potest,
quasi sit peregrinus . . .
is homo exornetur graphice in peregrinum modum,
ignota facies quae non visitata sit,
mendaciloquom, aliquem . . .
falsidicum, confidentem . . .
quasi ad adulescentem a patre ex Seleucia
veniat.[3]

[3] He is further marked as a foreigner by the words of Charmides in 841, *cum novo ornatu specieque*; and 851, 52: *pol hicquidem fungino generest: capite se totum tegit. Hilurica facies videtur hominis, eo ornatu advenit.*

The impostor is to bring a letter stating that he carries money for the dowry. The money is to be taken from the treasure, but, owing to the explanations in the letter, the suspicions of Lesbonicus will not be aroused. The plan was designed to succeed in its purpose. That the dramatist does not make the dénouement issue from this plan is due to the fact that he wants to enhance the interest by the meeting of Charmides and the impostor. Charmides then naturally becomes the person to solve the difficulties. Incidentally it is more satisfactory that the father of the bride be present at the betrothal and marriage of his daughter. The omission of either rôle, that of Charmides or of the impostor, would have weakened the action.

The mock-foreigner enters only in the minor plot of the *Poenulus*. The design is the downfall of the villainous procurer 159, 161, 423, and the freeing of Adelphasium, the girl whom Agorastocles loves 163, 64. The clever slave, Milphio, is made the arch-intriguer. In 165 ff. he explains the plan: Collybiscus, the bailiff of Agorastocles, is to be the agent. He is to be dressed as a foreigner, to be introduced to the procurer by Milphio as a gullible sort of fellow. It is essential to the technique that Collybiscus be unknown to the procurer, 171. As Calydon was the home of the former, Plautus represents the latter as having recently migrated to the town from Anactorium, 93, 94. Witnesses are to be called, who shall see Collybiscus delivering 300 gold pieces to the procurer. Thereupon Agorastocles is to claim his slave and the money, which, according to law, must be doubled, 184,564. The procurer will be unable to pay the increased amount, and in consequence, in the praetor's court, his whole household, including Adelphasium, will be adjudged to Agorastocles, 186,564. The double purpose of humbling the procurer and obtaining the girl will thus be accomplished.

The end sought by the imposture is not attained, though the execution of it is successful. This corresponds to the situation in the *Trinummus*, except that in the *Poenulus* the trick is executed, in the *Trinummus* it is balked. After 961 Plautus entirely forgets what he had made the purpose of the trick in 186, *addicet praetor familiam totam tibi*, and has the same person, Milphio, suggest another plan whereby Adelphasium (and her sister Anterastylis also) may be removed from the procurer, though the first plan had apparently been a complete success. This lack of harmony may be due to the fact

that the *Poenulus* is taken from more than one Greek play and the parts are not properly adjusted.[4]

The relation of Agorastocles to Adelphasium in the minor plot paves the way for *ἀναγνώρισις* in the major plot. The latter hinges on the discovery of the two sisters, Adelphasium and Anterastylis, by their father, Hanno, a Carthaginian, and the recognition of Hanno's nephew, Agorastocles, who is now the adopted son of Hanno's guest-friend. The poet could lead up naturally to the recognition of Agorastocles, the son (presumably) of his guest-friend, who is a citizen of Calydon. But to provide a plausible motivation for the discovery of girls who had been stolen in childhood, and were now in a procurer's possession is the problem that the playwright has solved by the connection, loose as it is, between the machinery of the minor and that of the major plot.

In the *Pseudolus* it is the main point in the action which hinges on the employment of a mock-foreigner. Here, as in the minor plot of the *Poenulus*, a lover must get his sweetheart out of the clutches of a grasping *leno*. Again the clever slave is the author of the scheme. The entrance of Harpax, the *cacula militis*, soliloquizing, is the means of suggesting the plan to the mind of Pseudolus. It assumes definite shape when Harpax entrusts to Pseudolus the letter from his master containing the token which the procurer and the captain had agreed upon, 647, 48. The captain had already paid down fifteen minae and still owed five minae, 618, 19. The courtesan, Phoenicium, is to be turned over to the messenger on the presentation of the letter and five minae. Obviously the letter is worth fifteen minae to any one desiring to gain possession of the girl. In 724 ff. the plan of Pseudolus is explained: he must have a crafty fellow, one who has not often been seen at Athens. He must be equipped with *chlamys*, *machaera*, and *petasus*. He is to play the rôle of pseudo-Harpax and go to the procurer with five minae and the letter to obtain the girl. The captain is a Macedonian from abroad, 51, 346, 616. Had Plautus made him a native, there would have been no need of a messenger, and the chance to develop the imposture theme would have been removed.

[4] So Leo suggests *Pl. Forsch.*[2] p. 173. He discusses the relation of the *Poen.* to its Greek originals, pp. 170–78.

The *Persa*[5] is the only play in which two characters assume the rôle of mock-foreigner. As in the *Pseudolus* and the *Poenulus* the procurer is made the object of the intrigue. The fact that he has migrated from Megara less than six months before,[6] 137, 38, entitles the dramatist to assume that the characters he intends to use in the imposture are not known to the procurer, Dordalus. Here also the clever slave is made responsible for the plan. Toxilus has succeeded in borrowing money to obtain the freedom of his mistress, who is in the possession of Dordalus. The necessity of paying back that loan is the motive which impels him to devise the following plan: Saturio, a parasite, shall lend his daughter to Toxilus, 147; another person shall be chosen to sell her, who is to say that she is a foreigner, 135, 36; both are to be dressed after the foreign fashion in costume which is to be obtained from the *choragus*, 155 ff. They are represented as Persians, 461, 498, 676, 740, etc. The fictitious letter from Timarchides, 501 ff., the gentle persuasion of Toxilus throughout scenes 3 and 4 of act IV, the manner of Sagaristio in the same scenes, the long and numerous Persian names, 702 ff., all are effectually used to dupe Dordalus into the purchase which proves his undoing. The remark of Sagaristio in 695, 96, that he has heard that his twin brother is a slave there and that he wants to look him up and buy his freedom, seems to me clearly to have been made with the purpose of forestalling any suspicion in the procurer's mind that he had seen him in Athens before. Toxilus strengthens the effect by saying that he had seen a man there much like him in form and size.[7] In the

[5] Wilamowitz *De Tribus Carminibus*, pp. 15 ff., contends that the *Persa* belongs to Middle Comedy. He reminds us that Timarchides, an Athenian, is absent on an expedition for the Persian king in Arabia. A Persian sells a girl at Athens who was captured in Arabia. That this is a pure fiction of Toxilus matters not. It might have been true. At no time, he says, could a person who was from Arabia be said to have come from Persia, except when the Persians were in possession of all Asia. He places the date in the time of Demosth., about 338 B. C., when many Athenians were on campaigns in the East. Leo *Pl. Forsch.*[2] p.123 assents to this view; cf. also *Hermes* XLI p. 440; and Hüffner *de Plauti Com. Exemplis Atticis* 70, 71. The arguments are discussed and rejected as unsafe premises for such a surprising conclusion by Max. Meyer *Commentationes Phil. Jenenses* VIII pp. 181–91.

[6] For a fact of like significance cf. *Poen.* 93, 94.

[7] There is an inconsistency between the directions of Toxilus, 677: *simulato quasi eas prosum in navem*, and Sagaristio's remark, 709: *animus iam in navist mihi*, on the

development of the plot of the *Persa* the dramatist needs the rôle of the foreigner. Since no 'warranty' was given with the girl to make the title secure a shrewd business man like Dordalus would not take the risk of having a parent or other relative appear to claim her, if he thought that she was from a neighboring Greek city or any country in close communication with Athens. The foreign rôle is necessary then but it must be the mock-foreigner. Otherwise the father could not immediately claim the girl and carry her off, with confidence in the support of the law, as he does, 738 ff.[8]

In the *Asinaria* the impostor is not, as elsewhere, a foreigner, but a native, who counterfeits the part of the chamberlain, Saurea; and the deceit is committed against a foreigner. Yet the principle may be stated to include this play, viz. the plotter must be a foreigner from the standpoint of the man tricked. To this extent the play illustrates the foreigner's function in the technique of comedy. Again the ultimate motive of the trick is for a lover to get possession of the girl he loves. The immediate sufferer is not, however, a procurer, nor in fact anyone to whom the girl belongs, but an innocent foreigner who is coming to pay a debt. Twenty minae must be found immediately to prevent the transfer of the girl to a soldier, with whom a bargain has already been struck by her mother, 746 ff. An ass-dealer of Pella in Macedonia having bought some asses is sending a young man with twenty minae to pay for them, 333 ff. In 464 he says: *peregrinus ego sum, Lauream non novi.* He does know Demaenetus, the father of the lover, Argyrippus, 349. We see the arch-intriguer at work again. He finds that he can depend upon the aid of Demaenetus even to the extent of cheating his own wife or her chamberlain. His wife is one of the well-dowered women at Athens who control their own finances. The messenger from the ass-dealer supposes that he will be safe in paying the money to the person whom Demaenetus identifies, and agrees to do so. Libanus, the intriguer, then arranges for his fellow slave, Leonida, to impersonate the cham-

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one hand, and the latter's remark that he must make a search for his twin brother 695,96, on the other. Yet it appears inevitable that some such reference as 695,96 should be made, to pave the way for Sagaristio's appearance, 830 ff., in the rôle of his twin brother. In either case the inconsistency remains and is no doubt due to Plautus' carelessness, which is common in minor details.

[8] This shows that a freeborn Athenian girl could not be sold into slavery at Athens nor be held by a procurer.

berlain. It could not be presumed by the playwright that a native would have so readily trusted the identification vouched for by the man of the house when the money was to be paid to a servant of the mistress of the house.

In the *Eunuchus* Chaerea, as his only disguise is that of dress, 682, 83, is able to succeed in his imposture only because the deceived people have but recently come to Athens. In the *Miles* also the plan to outwit Pyrgopolynices, the soldier, is successful because one party is a foreigner from the standpoint of the other.

The seduction motif figures prominently in six plays of Hellenistic comedy, the *Epitrepontes* and *Hero* of Menander, the *Epidicus* and *Cistellaria* of Plautus, and the *Phormio* and *Hecyra* of Terence. The two plays of Plautus and the *Phormio* are the only ones which involve the foreigner; they stand in contrast to the other three in this respect, two of which are by Menander, while the *Hecyra* is in close relation to him, as is seen from the striking resemblance in plot between it and the *Epitrepontes*; its original, however, is a play of Apollodorus. Contrast is also seen in the fact that in the three non-Menandrian plays seduction is represented as having taken place from sixteen to twenty years prior to the action, while in the three Menandrian plays it is a matter of months.[9] A playwright would not be unreasonable in effecting a recognition so long as several months after the first encounter, though the parties were living as fellow citizens of the same town. But he would encounter difficulties in leading up to the recognition if he delayed it for eighteen or twenty years, without the employment of foreigners. Menander's technique then does not require the foreigner for the phase of this theme which he uses, while the foreigner is essential to the theme as employed in the non-Menandrian plays in Roman comedy.

In the three plays which require the introduction of a foreigner the foreigner is from a neighboring Greek state, Lemnos in the case of the *Cistellaria* and the *Phormio*, Epidaurus in the case of the *Epidicus*. There is no urgent reason why the playwright should select a more distant city. But in each case it must be a foreign city. The fact that Lemnos was near to Athens lends plausibility to Terence's dramatic invention, in the *Phormio*, of an assumed name

[9] In the *Heros*, however, both methods of treatment appear to be used. Yet, as but brief fragments of it survive, we cannot argue from it with assurance one way or the other.

for purposes of deception, 356, 389, 390, 740. The danger that the facts about Chremes' Lemnian wife and daughter should come to light are thus minimized. Chremes' regular visits to the island are accounted for naturally by having him possess estates there, which must be looked after periodically, and their revenues collected, 788 ff., 1012, 13. The fact that they really belong to his Athenian wife brings his misdemeanor into stronger relief and prepares for his more complete discomfiture at the end, 990 ff.

The Lemnian wife and her daughter, Phanium, are brought to Athens by the dramatist, prior to the action, in Chremes' absence. This is necessary in order to allow time for the development of the love affair between Antipho and Phanium without the likelihood of Chremes' discovering prematurely the identity of the girl, a discovery which would have weakened the plot decidedly. Chremes had not been at home one day before he encountered Sophrona, the nurse, who is the only foreigner involved in the action. The death of the Lemnian wife is necessary to avoid a situation inconvenient for dramatic purposes, viz. a respectable Athenian gentleman with two recognized wives living at Athens. Phanium's part is entirely behind the scenes. But Sophrona is essential as a means of identifying Phanium, act V, scene 1. The scenery essential to Chremes' domestic affairs requires a setting outside of Athens, and this setting easily brings with it the alien nurse, who is dramatically convenient in the recognition.[10]

[10] A weakness in the plot appears from the fact that the girl cannot perhaps be considered an Athenian citizen—though she is called so by the nurse in 114—having a mother who was a native of Lemnos. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the marriage between her and Antipho can be considered fully legal. The same difficulty appears in the *Cistellaria* and in the *Curculio*. The scene of both of these plays, however, is laid outside of Athens, where the laws may have been different from those in Athens. The evidence of *Phormio* 115, 16: *si uxorem velit, lege id licere facere*, might be given as proof that she was a citizen. But a foreign woman is speaking, upon whose mind the status of the girl's father would be impressed. Gilbert *Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens* pp. 187, 88 discusses the question of the legality of a marriage between alien and citizen, and their position and that of their children. He quotes Demosth. 59, 17, who gives a law to the effect that such a marriage was not permitted. The penalty to aliens in case of transgression was slavery. The law does not seem to have been effective in practice, for Attic tomb inscriptions record numerous wives of Athenian citizens from other Greek states. Lécrivain in Dar. et Sagl. *s.v. matrimonium* III 2 pp. 1643, 44 gives a fuller discussion of the subject. The problem is also discussed at length by Beauchet *Histoire du Droit Privé de la République Athénienne* pp. 179 ff. He concludes that such marriages were never forbidden by Attic law. See also Dziatzko-Hauler *Phormio* 4th ed. p. 78 n. 3.

In the *Phormio* a man already married takes a second wife, while in the *Cistellaria*, 158, 59, and in the *Epidicus*, 540, 41, the girl is violated. Demipho, in the *Cistellaria*, after the death of his first wife, comes to Sicyon to live, and by accident marries the woman of his former adventure, 177, 78. Their recognition of each other is apparently effected after their marriage, 179, though in what manner the author gives us no intimation. As the adventure was *multa nocte*, 159, they would probably not have known each other even the next day, to say nothing of eighteen years later, 755.[11] The failure to motivate this discovery may be due to the fragmentary condition of the play. If it is a weakness, it becomes less conspicuous because of the importance attached to the discovery of their common daughter at the end of the play, a recognition which is properly managed through the medium of trinkets. In a plot like that of the *Cistellaria* the employment of a foreigner for one rôle is inevitable.

Comparing the *Epidicus* with the *Phormio* we find that in both plays the man has an intrigue with a woman in a city alien to the scene of the play; while in the *Cistellaria* seduction takes place in the town where the scene is laid. In the *Phormio* and the *Epidicus* the man knows the woman and has at least seen the child; while in the *Cistellaria* the parties concerned have no knowledge of each other. In all three plays the recognition of the child forms the dénouement. The Menandrian plays are in contrast in this point, for in the *Epitrepontes* and the *Hecyra* the climax comes in the recognition of each other by the girl and her seducer. This is, of course, inevitable if there is to be an ἀναγνώρισις at all.

In the *Epidicus* the interest is twofold, and not confined to the seduction theme. The recognition at the end not only restores a daughter to her father—a normal conclusion for this theme—but saves the girl from marrying her half-brother. The only apparent reason why the playwright had mother and daughter move from their home in Epidaurus to Thebes is that there was more likelihood of a war between Athens and Thebes than of one between Athens and Epidaurus. The daughter comes to Athens by way of the 'captive-in-war' motif; and her mother, upon hearing of her capture, comes to

[11] In the *Hecyra* a similar recognition is effected only through the medium of a ring, though the young man had married the girl only a few months after their first meeting.

Athens to search for her. Stratippocles, half-brother of the girl, meets her on the campaign, and falls in love with her. She is thus brought before the eyes of Stratippocles' slave Epidicus, who recognizes her, 638 ff. The playwright is not explicit as to when Epidicus had known her. Even Epidicus' elder master, her father, had seen her but once, 600, presumably as a small child. The motivation of the recognition therefore is rather weak.[12] In this play it is a matter both of realism and of dramatic convenience that one family is outside of Athens, a situation which involves the employment of a foreigner;[13] nor could the recognition interest have been obtained without the assistance of the foreigner.

The most common theme involving the foreigner, and one of the most common of any, in New Comedy, is the lost-relative theme, which is invariably followed by *ἀναγνώρισις*. Some phase of this subject forms the ground work of no less than nine plays, five of Plautus, three of Terence, one (doubtful) of Menander. Dénouement through the device of a recognition is employed in more than half the plays of New Comedy, nine out of twenty of Plautus, five out of six of Terence, four of Menander's fragmentary plays.[14]

Five plays which handle this subject introduce it by means of the kidnapping motif: *Curculio*, *Eunuchus*, *Rudens*, *Menaechmi*, *Poenulus*. In all five the kidnapping follows after the child has lost its way, and thus it is not a matter of open violence. The child is always young, from three in the *Rudens* up to seven (of Agorastocles) in the *Poenulus* and perhaps older in the *Curculio*. Except in the *Menaechmi* the pirates sell their stolen property. It is a matter of little consequence how kindly or how cruelly the child was

[12] Of all Plautus' plays, however, the *Epidicus* is probably the most obscure and complicated. It is a "sort of ancient 'movie' whose action touches only the high places," as Wheeler says in his discussion "The Plot of the Epidicus" *A.J.P.* 38 (1917) pp. 237 ff. This article gives a full discussion of the difficulties of the *Epidicus*, making valuable comparisons with other plays. For a general work which is partly concerned with the difficulties of plot in the plays of Plautus see Langen "Plautinische Studien" in *Berliner Phil. Studien* (1887).

[13] Cf. Dziatzko-Hauler *Phormio* 4th ed. p. 80 n. 2, which mentions a similar situation in Antiphon's first oration.

[14] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*[2] pp. 158, 59, traces briefly the history of *ἀναγνώρισις* from Homer on down. He makes it characteristic of Menander, and thinks that poet was responsible for its prominent position in comedy. See also Hoffmann *De Anagnorismo* (1910). He discusses most of the specific cases of recognition in Hellenistic comedy.

treated. Foreigners are essential for the elaboration of this theme. Pirates may not kidnap children and sell them back in the same town from which they were stolen. Probability of detection would be too strong. The utmost secrecy must be observed even when children are sold far from their own home. Moreover foreigners are necessary for a successful recognition scene between lost relatives.[15]

The plot of the *Curculio* involves the kidnapping of a free-born girl, who is sold into slavery to a *leno* in a strange city. She could not be in the hands of a procurer in her native town.[16] Free-born persons become slaves only in foreign lands. Moreover the successful elaboration of the kidnapping theme requires that the stolen child be a foreigner, on the general principle already laid down that a kidnapped child could not be sold in the town where its own home was. Under such conditions the recognition must be effected by foreigners.

The kidnapping and recognition theme as it appears in the *Eunuchus* varies from the treatment of the same subject in other plays in that the kidnapped child is brought back to her native country,[17] where the recognition takes place. This happens nowhere else except in the *Captivi*, and there the 'captive in war' motif makes it a different matter. The girl is not brought back until she has become a young woman and can be recognized only by an artificial medium. The foreigner is essential in helping to establish the girl's identity, for she has had no contact with her fellow countrymen since her kidnapping. She had lived at the home of the *meretrix*, Thais, whom the dramatist brings to Athens shortly before the action begins. There is another reason, besides the fact that she is the person to shelter the girl, why Thais should be a foreigner. The disguised eunuch—who was an Athenian youth—since his only disguise was dress, would have been recognized by her and her household, had she been a native of Athens; and this would have eliminated the leading point in the action, the entrance of the supposed eunuch into the

[15] See *supra* p. 70.

[16] The plot of the *Persa* is based on the point in Athenian law that a *leno* has no legal claim to a girl who is a citizen, even though he may have bought and paid for her. The same law probably holds for other Greek towns as well as Athens so far as comedy is concerned. In the *Poen.* when the girls are proved to be free-born citizens of Carthage Lycus realizes that he has no claim on them.

[17] It is not the same town, however; 115 says that the child was carried off from Sunium.

house of Thais. At the death of Thais' mother the stolen girl had been sold to a foreign soldier, 759, who bought her to present to Thais. The dramatist gains by having a foreigner take the rôle of *miles*. It serves the purpose of encouraging the stolen girl's brother, who is attempting to reclaim her, to stand his ground, for he realizes that an alien will be under a disadvantage in a law-suit—*minus potens*, 760.[18]

The *Rudens* presents us with the first play in which Athenians must be accounted aliens in the economy of the plot.[19] The dramatist has selected Cyrene[20] as the scene, and has brought an Athenian *senex*, Daemones, 33, and an Athenian youth, Plesidippus, 42, to settle there. The kidnapping motif is worked out in its usual form 39–41; 742–44; Palaestra, the three year old daughter of Daemones, strays from home, is stolen, and sold to a procurer, Labrax, who brings her to Cyrene. She is a young woman when the action begins. Ἀναγνώρισις is effected through the medium of trinkets, with which

[18] Other passages in Roman comedy which confirm the notion that the alien was at a disadvantage in court are the following: *Andria* 810–12, where Crito is warned by the examples of others how useless it would be for him, a stranger, to take a matter to court; *Asin.* 480, 81, where a foreigner, the young man from Pella, summons a slave to trial, but almost immediately decides to resort to his fists, realizing his inequality before the law with the slave's master, who was his legal representative; *Poen.* 1403, where Hanno sees that if he should want to take vengeance on the procurer he would be going to law '*in alieno oppido*.' (Though this occurs in the *alter exitus* of the *Poen.*, which is not genuine—cf. Langen *Plaut. Stud.* 343 ff., Leo *Pl. Forsch.*[2] 175 n. 3—yet it will serve as cumulative evidence, being in harmony with other evidence on the point. The author would be likely to observe the general principles of Plautine technique). Cf. Ar. *Knights* 347, which shows the prejudice even against resident aliens; *Birds* 1431, 1454–58.

[19] Thiele "Plautusstudien" *Hermes* 48(1913) pp. 522 ff., in an article which deals in part with the case of the foreigner in the *Rudens*, says that in the *Amphitruo* the harbor at Thebes is thought of as the Piraeus. He seems to imply the general assumption that in comedies where the scene was laid outside Athens the point of view was Athenian rather than foreign—a view contrary to our general assumption.

[20] It has been maintained by Hüffner *De Plauti Com. Exemplis Atticis* pp. 23, 24 note, that the action of certain plays was laid outside of Athens to protect Athenian respectability. Leo *Pl. Forsch.*[2] 220 n. 1 agrees with this and says that a stolen child may not be brought to Athens. But it appears very doubtful, as Legrand *Rev. des Ét. grec.* 16, 367, 68, points out. He shows that in the *Persa* a stolen child is sold at Athens by a merchant who is an Athenian citizen. Though he is a pseudo-merchant and the purchaser is punished, yet the possibility of the sale taking place at Athens remains, and the good name of the city suffers as much as though the sale were genuine.

Palaestra is familiar. She is aware of her origin, and no doubt Trachalio had learned from her of her Athenian birth, knowledge which he shows 738, 39. Since the playwright needs the situation of a free-born girl in a procurer's hands for the development of his plot, he has no alternative; the girl must be a foreigner. It has been shown in the *Curculio* and the *Persa* that a free girl could not be held as a slave in her own country. The love motif has a development similar to that in the *Poenulus*. Plesidippus presses his suit before he is aware that the girl is his compatriot, as did Agorastocles. Plesidippus is a kinsman of Daemones, 1198, 1214, as Agorastocles of Hanno. In 746 Labrax says that it matters not to him whether the girls were born in Athens or Thebes. The essential elements in the plot, the kidnapping and the recognition, would have developed satisfactorily in either case. But to the playwright it is essential to a satisfactory outcome that the marriage be legal,[21] and this would not have been assured had they been citizens of different states.

The *Menaechmi* also employs the same theme. A father took one of his twin sons with him from Syracuse to Tarentum, where the latter strayed away and was carried off by a merchant of Epidamnus, 27 ff. The merchant adopted him as his son and made him heir to his fortune, 60 ff., a procedure which was contrary to Athenian law,[22] whatever the law of other Greek cities, and specifically Epidamnus, on this point was. At the beginning of the action the other twin, grown to manhood, appears in Epidamnus in search of his brother. The recognition is effected by the help of the slave Messenio, another alien. He is aware of the purpose of his master's travels, 232–34, and would be on the alert, confident that freedom would be his reward, as it proved to be, 1148, if he were responsible for the recognition. He could more easily recognize the other twin, being able to compare the features of both.[23]

[21] Cf. *supra* p. 76 n. 10.

[22] It required the sworn assurance by the one who adopts that the child adopted is an Attic citizen. See P. Gide, E. Caillemer in Darem. et Sagl. *s.v. adoptio*; Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa *s.v. adoption*; Beauchet *Hist. du Droit Privé de la République Athénienne* II 42, 43. Isaeus Περὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου κλήρου 16 gives ancient authority. It is likely that Attic law would affect the legal material in the plays of most of the Hellenistic dramatists, even in those plays where the setting is in a Greek city other than Athens.

[23] Cf. the first words of the two searchers on first seeing Menaechmus of Epidamnus. Messenio says, 1062: *pro di immortales! quid ego video? speculum tuom.* Men-

The *Menaechmi* shows clearly what the Greek playwright's difficulties would be if he attempted to elaborate the lost-relative theme issuing in recognition without employing foreigners. In London or Berlin of today recognition might reasonably be avoided for a long time, but in the Greek town one day brought many recognitions to Menaechmus-Sosicles. The fact that he was taken for his brother does not weaken the point. No doubt the playwright was forcing the situation, in a measure, for dramatic purposes. Yet he could not possibly have forced it far enough to make it work in a large city.

The double kidnapping and the double recognition in the major plot of the *Poenulus* necessitate a larger number of foreigners than is to be found in any other play. Agorastocles, at the age of seven years, was carried off from Carthage, 66, brought to Calydon, and sold to a rich man, 71, 72, who was unaware of the relation of guest-friendship which existed between himself and the boy's father. The rich man adopted him and made him his heir,[24] 76, 77. The two daughters of Hanno, cousin of Agorastocles' father, at the age of four and five, were carried away with their nurse from Carthage, and sold at Anactorium to a procurer, who brought them to Calydon, 84 ff. When the action of the play takes place, they are on the eve of being declared professional courtesans, 1139. The necessity of foreigners in the plot as it stands is twofold: first, kidnapped children cannot be sold except far from home, as has already been shown; second, recognition of lost relatives, as has been seen repeatedly, necessarily involves the foreigner. Both statements above apply equally to Agorastocles. Also, by making her lover of the same nationality as Adelphasium instead of a native of Calydon, the playwright provides for a lawful marriage between them. Furthermore, Agorastocles may legally become the heir to the property of Hanno, 1085, a thing which could not take place if he were a native. As in the *Phormio* and the *Eunuchus* the nurse is employed to effect the recognition. In the *Poenulus* she is the sole means, 1122 ff., and hence is another foreigner who serves a dramatic purpose. The recognition of Agorastocles is accomplished by means of the *tessera*

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aechmus Sosicles says, 1064: *pol profecto haud est dissimilis, meam quom formam noscito.* Messenio sees an exact likeness and is much excited over it; Menaechmus Sos. is only mildly interested.

[24] Cf. the similar illegal procedure in *Menaechmi* 60 ff.

hospitalis, 1047 ff., which introduces the guest-friendship motif, and thus the foreign element is further enlarged. It is clear from this discussion that the major plot of the *Poenulus* is constructed entirely around *personae peregrinae*.

The leading interest in the *Andria* is the love affair between Pamphilus and Glycerium. The dramatist must provide a sweetheart for Pamphilus to whom his father objects, whose objections will be removed by the discovery that she is a citizen. The lost-child theme is employed to supply the demand. It is introduced not, as is usual, by kidnapping but by the accident of a shipwreck, 923, 24, which serves the same purpose, viz., that of separating a child from its parents. The girl, now grown up, has come to Athens in company with her adopted sister, Chrysis, who is an Andrian. A means of bringing about the recognition of Glycerium, and of establishing the fact that she is an Athenian citizen, which is necessary to bring the love affair to a satisfactory conclusion, must be provided; and that requirement is responsible for the introduction of the Andrian, Crito, the only foreigner who takes part in the action. The situation in the play is impossible if anybody in Athens is in a position to recognize Glycerium without the help of external testimony. If Glycerium went to Simo with her full knowledge of her early history nobody could confirm her statement except an Andrian such as Crito. Crito's coming is naturally motivated, and Simo's sneer, 916, 17, at the coincidence of his arrival and the wedding day is justified only because he has not been informed of the reason for the Andrian's coming. Yet the criticism of Donatus (on 796) that he is a *persona machinata* has some point. A modern dramatist would be careful to prepare the way for the important rôle which he played in act V by at least casually referring to him earlier in the play.

The *Phormio* has been discussed, *supra* p. 75 ff., in connection with another theme. Just a word may be said about it in relation to the lost-relative theme. Terence's treatment of the theme in this play is not of the stock variety. Instead of the regular separation of many years there is but a short period. Instead of a proper ἀναγνώρισις there is the discovery that Antipho's sweetheart is Chremes' daughter, and that she has come to Athens seeking her father. Chremes must certainly have recognized the girl had he seen her, for she had only left Lemnos since his last periodic visit there, though it had been delayed longer than usual, 569. Phanium and the nurse

must be foreigners for this phase of the plot as well as for the phase which treats the seduction theme.

A complication of the kidnapping and captive-in-war motif leads to the employment of foreigners in the *Captivi*. The scene of the action is Aetolia, 94. A child belonging to an Aetolian family is stolen at four years and carried off to Elis by Stalagmus, a slave of Hegio, the child's father, 8, 9. War arising between the two states Philopolemus, brother of the kidnapped child, is taken captive by the Eleans, 24, 25. The restoration of the two sons to their home, which is the dramatic purpose, requires the assistance of foreigners. Philocrates and his slave Tyndarus, Elean captives in Aetolia, are purchased by Hegio, to be employed in ransoming Philopolemus. His recovery is thus effected, and the supposed slave, Tyndarus, turns out to be the kidnapped son. His return home is thus also due to the fact that foreigners are brought to Aetolia as captives in war. The same means is responsible for his recognition, for the exigencies of war also restore to Aetolia Stalagmus, the run-away slave, by whose confession Tyndarus becomes known.

A discussion of the *Miles* may perhaps best be appended to that of the lost-relative theme, though the connection is a loose one at best. The kidnapping differs from its usual form in that a grown girl and not a child is the victim, 112, 13. The action of the pirates in intercepting and carrying off Palaestrio has no parallel in New Comedy. The recognition element in 122, 23, so far from forming the dénouement, is only incidental and appears previous to the action. The person to whom the kidnapped girl is restored is not her mother, from whom she was taken, but her lover; while the length of time between the kidnapping and the dénouement is short compared with the time in plays which handle the theme in the regular way. From 113 it is learned that Ephesus is the scene of the play. The plot as outlined above necessitates three foreign rôles, that of the kidnapped girl, that of her lover, and that of his slave. Athenians become foreigners for our purpose here, as was the case in the *Rudens*. The thread of the plot thus far is unimportant, however, compared with the grotesque characterization of the *miles* and with the hole-in-the-wall story. The latter is successfully elaborated only by the help of the three characters from abroad. The fact that

Periplectomenus[25] is a guest-friend of the father of Pleusicles, the lover, 135, explains why Pleusicles could depend on his aid, which was essential.[26]

It is, therefore, perfectly clear that the main reason why the poets of Hellenistic and Roman comedy so frequently introduce the foreigner is that he may satisfy the economic needs of the plot. Beyond the shadow of a doubt the writers employ the character of the foreigner because they are forced to do so by their conventional subjects; and so he becomes almost entirely a dramatic convenience. This, it will be remembered, is in significant contrast to the treatment of the foreigner in Old Comedy, where he enters by way of incidental allusion or, at most, as an episodic rôle. And our conclusion may indicate how limited are the statements in the ancient Prolegomena to comedy, in which foreigners, along with slaves, are said to have been objects of personal attack in New Comedy.[27]

[25] The character of Periplectomenus is often spoken of as an Athenian type However, Niemeyer *Berl. Phil. Woch.* I 352 is differently impressed: Wie trefflich persifliert der attische Dichter die Jovialität höchster Potenz durch Vorführung dieses albernen Ephesiers!

[26] The *Samia* of Menander may very well have elaborated the theme of the lost relative with recognition as its issue; yet it has not been included in the discussion because it is so fragmentary and because the end of the play containing the dénouement has been lost. The explanation of Capps *Four Plays of Menander* p. 226 that the supposed Samian girl is revealed as the daughter of an Athenian citizen and joined in lawful wedlock to Demeas, is a reasonable solution, but I see no reason why it is inevitable. Koerte *Men.* editio maior pp. XXXII, XXXIII says merely that the play is moving toward a happy issue.

[27] Cf. *supra* pp. 14, 15. The main thought elaborated in the chapter above has been very briefly dismissed by Legrand *Daos* p. 68.

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